



Daily Report

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Nazarkin-Led Delegation Arrives for Geneva Talks
*LD1606115289 Moscow TASS in English 1145 GMT
16 Jun 89*

[Text] Geneva June 16 TASS—The USSR delegation led by Ambassador Yuriy Nazarkin today arrived in Geneva where Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space armaments are opening on June 19. The understanding on resuming the talks was reached during the May meeting in Moscow between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

The Soviet delegation arrived in Geneva with the determination to look for solutions to outstanding issues and conduct a constructive and intensive work to conclude as soon as possible a treaty that would enhance the security of both Soviet and American peoples as well as of the entire mankind.

U.S. Arms Talks Stance, Commitment to SDI Noted
*LD1706082889 Moscow TASS in English 0740 GMT
17 Jun 89*

[Text] Washington June 17 TASS—The official U.S. stance at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space armaments has undergone insignificant changes, an official White House spokesman said on Friday.

At a regular meeting with journalists Marlin Fitzwater, assistant to the president for press relations, said that enhancing stability in U.S.-Soviet relations, and lessening the danger of the outbreak of war through reaching a verifiable agreement on halving Soviet and U.S. strategic nuclear forces remains to be the U.S. goal at the talks which will resume in Geneva on June 19 after an almost seven-month break.

Fitzwater stressed that continuity to the positions held by the Reagan administration will be preserved to a considerable extent in the current administration's approach to these talks.

By November 1988, when a break occurred in the Geneva talks because of the presidential elections in the United States, both sides, according to Fitzwater, completed the drafting of an approximately 400-page treaty on strategic offensive armaments. But he said there still remained such complex problems as mobile missiles, air- and sea-based cruise missiles, and verification procedures which will have to be dealt with.

Fitzwater said that the American delegation at the talks, whose chief negotiator will be Richard Burt, U.S. ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany, received a package of instructions. They were worked out on the basis of the analysis of the U.S. strategy at the arms control talks, which was launched on an instruction of President George Bush last January. Bush discussed the results and conclusions of this analysis with his chief

advisers during the last two weeks. Fitzwater said that a host of decisions were made upon the results of these discussions, which will become instructions for the U.S. delegation in Geneva.

The White House spokesman emphasized that President Bush's stance on the "Strategic Defence Initiative" programme has not changed: He is strongly committed to SDI as before.

Officials Comment on Resumption of Geneva Talks

Karpov on 'Ruses' in Negotiations
*LD1606125289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1040 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] [Announcer] The USSR-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space weapons resume in Geneva in a few days. We present for your attention a conversation with Karpov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs. All-union radio commentator Vladimir Pasko met with him.

[Begin recording] [Pasko] Viktor Pavlovich, after a long interval, the USSR-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space weapons will be resuming in Geneva on 19 June.

As far as I understand it, this event is of considerable political importance. The USSR-U.S. dialogue, which was broken off until such time as the new U.S. leadership could come to grips with things, is gradually regaining the scope reached at the negotiations with the previous administration.

[Karpov] I believe you are right. It is acquiring a significant, and in some respects perhaps even a greater scope than under the previous administration. The negotiations on nuclear and space weapons are resuming. Full scale USSR-U.S. negotiations are resuming on underground nuclear explosions. The work of the permanent consultative commission that is monitoring the fulfillment of the ABM Treaty is resuming. Now, beginning in mid-June, the USSR-U.S. consultations on chemical weapons within the framework of the conference on disarmament are resuming. That is what was being discussed with the previous administration. Now, however, there is a conversation on conventional weapons in Vienna. We prepared for this with the previous administration, and it began in March. Therefore, to the baggage that we have inherited from the previous administration I would add conventional weapons as an additional and very important channel for exchanging opinions, and elaborating on mutually agreed solutions.

It should be said that this whole package of issues corresponds to the priorities which the Soviet Union sets in the issues of disarmament and arms limitation. Therefore, we ascribe great significance to all these discussions with the United States, whether on a bilateral or a multilateral basis.

[Pasko] Viktor Pavlovich, if we may return to the negotiations which are now resuming, the impression is that the dialogue will not be completely what it was with the preceding administration. After all, as far as one can judge from statements by representatives of the new administration, its position contains some differences—taking the statement that this administration attaches high priority to conventional weapons.

[Karpov] To be sure, looking at the situation today, at today's negotiations, the administration is placing greater emphasis on conventional weapons. Those negotiations, however, are already in progress. They began in March. Now we are resuming the negotiations on nuclear and space weapons and the consultations on chemical weapons. I feel it will be revealed in the course of these negotiations and consultations how far the U.S. Administration is ready now for active movement on these issues as well. What we heard from Secretary of State Baker during his visit to Moscow in May showed us that the administration is seriously approaching the resumption of the negotiations on nuclear and space weapons. An all-around analysis of the military-political and military-strategic problems the United States of America might come up against in connection with these negotiations was conducted. The secretary of state described some of the conclusions from that analysis to us in Moscow. I think that the very fact that the new administration has conducted an analysis of problems connected with the negotiations should lead to it now being expedient to define where we are, from the standpoint of the main problems in the negotiations, and then to define priority areas for the discussions, both of the major, cardinal problems which need to be solved for us to reach an accord, and on the practical plane: the preparation of documents, the preparation of the actual text of a treaty—on which a start has already been made—and the preparation of protocols accompanying the treaty. In other words, this would involve all the documents needed for us to complete the work.

[Pasko] The subject of these negotiations is inter-continental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, heavy bombers, and sea- and air-launched cruise missiles. When talking about the previous round of negotiations, diplomats and politicians have noted that you managed to move a long way forward. How far is it possible, in your opinion, to maintain the same tempo at the negotiations which are now starting?

[Karpov] Well, I don't think that we should overrate the tempo of the negotiations which were conducted up to the elections in the United States in November last year. Those negotiations had been in progress since March 1985—for just over 3 years, in other words. Serious advances were attained in that time in reaching agreement on problems connected with the 50-percent limitation [as heard] in strategic offensive weapons, principally with regard to defining the overall level of strategic delivery vehicles and nuclear weapons which will remain after the reductions have been made. The sides'

approaches to the reduction of such weapons as ICBM's, including mobile ICBM's, submarine-launched ballistic missiles and, as a whole, the problems of limiting strategic aircraft were defined. Serious progress was made on the verification issue.

However, there remained some areas on which there has not yet been any serious progress. These are, primarily, areas connected with the observance of the ABM Treaty and with sea-launched cruise missiles. Under the previous administration too, those two areas remained far from the stage where one could say that we had found mutually acceptable solutions. To be sure, an accord was reached back in December 1987, during Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Washington, regarding the observance of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972, and that was recorded in the joint statement of 10 December 1987. It would seem that it should have been possible to elaborate legally binding provisions for the conclusion of an agreement on that basis. Unfortunately, that did not happen, because, contrary to the accord which was reached in Washington, the U.S. delegation proposed to us, instead of observing the ABM Treaty, settling the question of its replacement right now with a new treaty that would permit the testing and deployment of large-scale ABM systems, including space-based ones. Therefore, in these matters we still have very many undefined issues—undefined, because of the U.S. position. If the U.S. adheres to the accord of December 1987, an agreement could even be possible today. But if the U.S. delegation still have instructions to act counter to that accord, then it will be very difficult to count, as a whole, on progress at the negotiations.

The issue of sea-launched cruise missiles is also a problem that was discussed in a very detailed manner at the talks in Washington in December 1987, and a mutual obligation on the sides to limit sea-launched cruise missiles was adopted. But hitherto the United States—under the previous administration, at any rate—has proceeded from the premise that a provision on this point should not be included in the actual text of the treaty, that it will be sufficient for now to agree on just the exchange of information about the plans of the two sides regarding sea-launched cruise missiles: in other words, not limitation, but just information. We believe that solutions of that sort do not accord at all with the task of elaborating a treaty on reducing strategic weapons by 50 percent. The point is that if we are to observe a level of 6,000 nuclear weapons—on which there is already an accord at the very highest level—then we must close all channels to circumvent that decision.

But the United States is, essentially, proposing to open a channel, through sea-launched cruise missiles, for a possible circumvention of the 6,000 level. Of course, that is an approach which cannot be accepted as a just approach, and solutions must be sought that will lead to a genuine, strict, monitorable limit on those missiles. We are proposing this limit: 400 nuclear-equipped sea-launched cruise missiles, and 600 non-nuclear-equipped

missiles. That is perfectly adequate for ensuring the security of both sides. And it is possible to reach an agreement on a monitoring system to guarantee that neither side exceeds the bounds of the limitations in this case. We will see at the negotiations how the new administration will act now on these matters. In any event, we favor both sides' strict observance of the December 1987 accord on these issues.

[Pasko] Viktor Pavlovich, during Secretary of State Baker's visit to Moscow both sides stated points which need to be solved before mutual accords can be reached. Could you specify what that referred to?

[Karpov] I have already mentioned two issues: observance of the ABM Treaty and the question of sea-launched cruise missiles. As far as the observance of the ABM Treaty is concerned, in addition to the thoughts expressed by our side regarding the need to solve problems on the basis of the December 1987 accord, the U.S. side raised the matter of the Krasnoyarsk radar. This issue has already grown a beard, as they say. It has been dragging on for several years and, although that radar was built as a space-observation station, some details of the station's location and orientation give the United States grounds, to a certain extent, to voice their doubts vis-a-vis its true purpose. We have already told the Americans—Mikhail Sergeyevich told Baker about it too—that we are prepared to dismantle that radar, in order to clear the way for an accord on the observance of the ABM Treaty, if the United States adheres to the accord of December 1987, and if we resolve these problems connected with the ABM Treaty to our mutual satisfaction at the negotiations. And so, we are ready for far-reaching actions on this point. But we also have complaints to make to the United States regarding the observance of the ABM Treaty: the presence of radar at Thule in Greenland, which was built after the ABM Treaty was concluded on foreign territory, which is forbidden by the treaty. The Americans say that it is a modernization of old radar. But by all parameters it is no modernization at all, but completely new radar. There are also other, smaller, complaints which we will also present to the U.S. side and which need to be solved.

There is one more problem on the 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons. It is of lesser importance than the problem of sea-launched cruise missiles, but is also of very considerable significance for the observance of the accords already reached on 6,000 nuclear weapons as a ceiling. It is the problem of air-launched cruise missiles. What is this about? It is about the fact that there are differences in the numbers of heavy bombers belonging to the United States and the Soviet Union and in the numbers of missiles with which they are equipped. Whereas the majority of U.S. bombers—and they are near acquiring 200 of them—are now equipped with 12 and will in the future be equipped with 20 cruise missiles. Our Tu-95's, which form the basis of our strategic air force—we now have 160 of them—are equipped with 6 cruise missiles. We have a new bomber,

the Tu-160, which can be equipped with 12 missiles, but production of that bomber is proceeding at a very slow rate, and we do not intend to force up the pace of its production. But the United States is proposing that, on the average, only 10 missiles should be counted for each heavy bomber. We have 6, in the main, but 10 must be counted. By that difference we, for the most part, would not reach 6,000, but the United States will be able to have 1,500-2,000 weapons over the 6,000. Well, we do not believe that this approach is at all suitable for a mutually acceptable solution, and, of course, a change in the U.S. position on these matters is required.

[Pasko] I admit it is surprising even to learn of these ruses when negotiations are being held at such a level and on such serious matters. However, it turns out that they do exist.

[Karpov] Unfortunately, they do exist and often such ruses are incomprehensible to the detached observer who is not taking part in the negotiations since, well whether they agree to count, say 10, or whatever, a material advantage in nuclear weapons of one side or the other is already hidden behind this and we cannot ignore this.

[Pasko] That is precisely the case to which the words of Comrade Gorbachev refer concerning the fact that negotiations must be carried out in such a way that trust in each other is not undermined.

[Karpov] Of course that is necessary. Attempts to gain greater security for oneself by haggling, at the expense of the security of the other side, cannot serve as the basis for serious conversation in such matters as strategic weapons.

[Pasko] Viktor Pavlovich, it seems to me that the Soviet Union and the United States for an inexcusably long time now have not had a legally drawn up accord on limiting the strategic offensive arms race. For one, they did not succeed in preserving the SALT II Treaty, which was signed 10 years ago.

[Karpov] Well, unfortunately, the treaty was not ratified. However, during the period in which it was in force, and it was calculated up until 1985, both sides adhered to its conditions. Only in 1986 did the United States overstep its boundaries by constructing another heavy bomber equipped with cruise missiles which already marked a departure from the limit set by the SALT II Treaty. Therefore, I think that despite the fact that U.S. Congress did not ratify that treaty, it played a positive role in as far as the maintenance of strategic stability between the USSR and the United States was concerned. The fact that that treaty was observed from the very outset, in actual fact throughout the entire period which was allotted to it, made it possible to embark on new negotiations on nuclear and space weapons. I think we should not forget that. The significance of the SALT II Treaty

lies precisely in the fact that it guaranteed a certain continuity in the dialogue between the USSR and the United States on strategic weapons.

Our delegation is going for both a strategic conversation, since it concerns strategic weapons and for a conversation on the prospects of the USSR-U.S. dialogue on questions which have a decisive significance in determining the whole structure of USSR-U.S. relations in general. These are questions which will demand to be resolved, either now, or shortly. However, we cannot ignore them. They must be resolved and I think that the U.S. Administration realizes that too. And there are, therefore, grounds for hoping that if not this year, then perhaps next year, we will succeed in securing a considerable breakthrough in solving questions of strategic offensive weapons. However, for this, both sides must aim to seek solutions which meet the security interests of each of them.

[Pasko] In other words, the time has come to move on, further, and now, as they say, our comrades who are carrying out the negotiations have a mandate for this not only from the government but also from the congress.

[Karpov] Yes, that is a great, solid reinforcement for our delegation.

[Pasko] Viktor Pavlovich, many thanks for this talk. I wish you success in the negotiations.

[Karpov] Thank you. [end recording]

Bogachev Fears 'Wait-and-See' Stand

LD1706045389 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 2353 GMT 16 Jun 89

[By Vladimir Bogachev, TASS commentator on military affairs]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jun (TASS)—After a 7-month break, the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons resume in Geneva on 19 June. One of the features of the current round of talks lies in the fact that in the course of the discussions the U.S. delegation will set out for the first time the official stance of the new U.S. Administration on the most important problems under discussion at the forum.

In past years the participants at the Geneva talks have laid good foundations for concluding an agreement on strategic offensive weapons. Maximum ceilings of 1,600 strategic vehicles and 6,000 warheads have been agreed on for each side in the joint draft treaty. Agreement has been reached that the total warheads for intercontinental ballistic missiles and submarine-launched ballistic missiles must not exceed 4,900 for either the USSR or the United States. The clauses concerning heavy ICBMs, missile throw weight, and other important parameters, have been agreed on.

Mutually acceptable solutions have not yet, however, been found on several fundamentally important issues. Thus, limitations have not been agreed on for sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCM), although in the joint statement signed in Washington in December 1987 the leaders of the USSR and the United States recorded a mutual obligation to set limits for them. Meanwhile, the agreement cannot be effective without an accord on SLCM's which is subject to reliable monitoring. The question of limiting heavy bombers and long-range air-launched cruise missiles will also have to be resolved in Geneva.

For many years the United States has occupied an inconsistent position on the issue of mobile ICBM launchers. Depending on its changing military programs, Washington has sometimes insisted at the talks that they be banned, and sometimes that they be allowed. The U.S. President recently made a decision to deploy two mobile missiles: the underground-based Midgetman and the railway-based MX. This decision will probably also determine the U.S. delegation's position on mobile missiles in Geneva.

The question of the U.S. Star Wars program is of fundamental importance for the course of all the Geneva talks. This program envisages the violation of virtually all the main clauses of the 1972 Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty. The solution to the strategic offensive arms issue is connected in the closest manner with the observance of the ABM Treaty by both sides. It is, after all, senseless to destroy strategic weapons on land while simultaneously giving the green light to the deployment of even more dangerous and unpredictable strike weapons in outer space.

According to the admission of officials in Washington, during the lengthy pause at the Geneva talks the new U.S. Administration has not managed to clearly define its positions on all of the still unresolved problems of strategic offensive arms reduction. Some observers presume that in the near future the U.S. side will not advance initiatives of its own, but will adopt a wait-and-see position in Geneva to "see whether the Soviet Union's position will change."

Meanwhile, time is getting short. For its part, the Soviet Union is prepared to persistently seek mutually acceptable solutions to all strategic offensive arms issues under conditions in which the ABM Treaty is observed in the form in which it was signed in 1972 in Geneva.

General Staff Deputy on Differences

PM1806165789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
17 Jun 89 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Colonel V.S. Koltunov, deputy chief of a USSR Armed Forces General Staff directorate, by Colonel V.A. Nazarenko, under the rubric "Topical Interview"; "The Knots of the Geneva Talks"; date and place not given]

[Text] The Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms which opened in March 1985 will resume in Geneva on

19 June. In connection with the new round of talks, Colonel V.A. Nazarenko asked Colonel V.S. Koltunov, deputy chief of a USSR Armed Forces General Staff directorate and member of the Soviet delegation, to answer questions KRASNAYA ZVEZDA asked.

[Nazarenko] So finally, after a long break during the G. Bush administration's assumption of power, talks which are of great importance for the fate of peace are being resumed. In the course of these talks at least three problems will have to be resolved—the problems of long-range air-launched cruise missiles (ALCM), sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCM), and also the link between the treaty on strategic offensive arms and the existing ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed by both sides in 1972. Could you explain the essence of the differences in the sides' positions on ALCM's?

[Koltunov] The essence of the problem lies mainly in the different approaches the Soviet Union and the United States have to the rules for counting ALCM on heavy bombers.

The U.S. side insists that an average of 10 ALCM should be counted per heavy bomber irrespective of its type. This approach puts the sides on an uneven footing. One of the Soviet bombers, for instance, is equipped with 6 ALCM, but despite this 10 missiles would be counted, while certain U.S. bombers which are equipped with 20 and more ALCM would also be counted as having only 10 missiles.

The Soviet Union favors counting the maximum number of ALCM for which it is equipped for every specific type of heavy bomber. This is a fair stance which is not detrimental to the security interests of either of the talks participants.

[Nazarenko] Now about the problem of the SLCM. I recall that F. Carlucci, former U.S. secretary of defense, said outright during the fourth summit in Moscow that these missiles are not included in the 50-percent cuts of the both sides' strategic nuclear arms because the Americans do not regard them as strategic weapons. Is this correct?

[Koltunov] Mr F. Carlucci was obviously expressing a personal viewpoint. After all, you know about the Soviet-U.S. statement of 10 December 1987 which was made at the highest level. It points out with reference to strategic offensive weapons that one of the paramount tasks is finding a mutually acceptable decision on the question of limiting the deployment of long-range SLCM fitted with nuclear charges. Both sides pledged to set ceilings on these missiles and to seek mutually acceptable and effective methods for their verification.

[Nazarenko] What do you think, Viktor Stefanovich, do SLCM's lend themselves to verification?

[Koltunov] I am convinced of both—namely that they do, and that this must be done. SLCM's lend themselves to effective verification, although I would not like to create the impression that this is going to be easy. There are certain difficulties. However, when people claim that it is impossible to establish verification of SLCM on principle, then this seems primarily to clearly indicate an unwillingness to resolve the very problem of the limitation of these missiles. And, frankly speaking, the previous U.S. Administration made no secret of this. Toward the end it began to advocate that the sides merely exchange information about their plans to produce this type of missile and, what is more, without any kind of verification.

Those who deny that SLCM's can be verified usually use the following technique: They single out individual measures from the whole range of verification measures and seek to prove that they are insufficiently effective. However, the crux of this question lies in the fact that the verification of SLCM's—just like that of other strategic offensive arms, incidentally—must embrace the whole range of measures which effectively span the entire "life cycle" of these arms once they come off the production line. These include, for instance: exchanging information on the number of SLCM's each side possesses and their location; notifying all subsequent changes in this information; using national technical means including remote verification; inspections carried out on a permanent basis at SLCM production facilities (along the lines of those carried out under the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles) and also at arming points, that is, where the SLCM are equipped with warheads; annual inspections under a quota system of all the places and facilities where SLCM's are located; and inspections on places or facilities "under suspicion" where in the opinion of the other side covert production, deployment, or storage may be under way. Taken together, these measures make it possible to guarantee reliable and effective verification of SLCM's.

[Nazarenko] It has been said that U.S. sailors will never agree to Soviet inspectors strolling around the decks of their ships. So what is to be done?

[Koltunov] Who would have thought in the past that U.S. inspectors would visit our missile bases and visually inspect our missiles and measure their technical parameters? This is a reality now.

If the United States is really interested in ending the nuclear arms race, in reducing these arms, and ultimately in eliminating them, that is to say if it is interested in achieving the objectives which are on the agenda of the talks on nuclear and space arms, then there is no reason to reject inspections on submarines and surface ships in accordance with procedures to be agreed by the sides. These inspections would, of course, be reciprocal. The Soviet Union is ready for this.

[Nazarenko] Figuratively speaking, it is clearly impossible to move on to a radical reduction in strategic offensive arms before overcoming the Tomahawk hurdle. How can this dangerous sphere of the arms race be left out of consideration. Is this not a way to sidestep a future treaty?

[Koltunov] Absolutely. Reducing certain types of strategic offensive arms (ICBM's, SLBM's, and heavy bombers) while leaving the floodgates open for the unchecked and uncontrolled buildup of others—SLCM's—would be absurd. It is perfectly obvious that such a decision would make it possible to sidestep a future treaty. The elaboration of a treaty on strategic offensive arms on this basis would be meaningless.

[Nazarenko] What about the ABM Treaty. What is the link between the treaty on strategic offensive arms and the ABM Treaty?

[Koltunov] In an effort to be brief I will put it this way: The ABM Treaty of unlimited duration is the basis of the entire process of limiting and reducing strategic offensive arms. If it is destroyed (and this threat does exist in view of the continued implementation in the United States of the SDI program), all curbs on the arms race would be removed. This is why we firmly insist that the ABM Treaty must be preserved in the form in which it was signed in 1972.

There is an objective link between strategic offensive arms reductions and the observance of the ABM Treaty. In the past it used to be recognized by the U.S. side too, and this is enshrined in the preamble to the ABM Treaty. It finds expression in the fact that deep cuts in strategic offensive arms are possible only if the sides refrain from creating and deploying large-scale ABM systems.

In conclusion, I would like to make one more point. What we have been discussing here have mainly been the knots of the Geneva talks which "are yet to be unraveled." However, to date a solid groundwork has already been laid. Judging by appearances, the U.S. side is in favor of continuity on everything positive that has already been achieved at the talks. This inspires hope. It is thought that mutually acceptable solutions will be found to the questions which remain to be settled.

Grinevskiy on Bush Conventional Arms Proposals
LD1606090889 Moscow TASS in English 0808 GMT
16 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—"The results of the first session of the talks involving 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO member-states showed that there are convergent elements in the sides' positions, which could form the basis for an initial agreement," Oleg Grinevskiy, ambassador at large, who heads the USSR delegation at the talks on conventional forces in Europe (CFE), believes. His interview is published in the latest issue of the NEW TIMES weekly.

The agreement can result in a drastic reduction in the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, which will adjust the existing imbalances and, moreover, ensure that the sides reach dramatically lower levels in the destabilising categories of armaments.

The reductions to equal collective ceilings should be carried out on a coordinated basis within five to six years after the initial accord was reached. They should be effected in such a way that the security of none of the participants in the talks, none of the European countries appear to be threatened.

Evaluating the new proposals on conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe, which were advanced by U.S. President George Bush in Brussels on May 29, the Soviet diplomat noted that these proposals are a direct response to the latest initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty organization countries.

Bush's proposals, which were accepted by American allies as the Western side's stance at the talks, are a serious and tangible movement to meet socialist countries' positions halfway, Grinevskiy stressed. If earlier NATO representatives spoke only of three categories of armaments which are subject to initial reduction—tanks, artillery and combat armoured vehicles—at issue now are six categories, including combat aircraft, military helicopters and personnel.

Grinevskiy also made some critical remarks on Bush's proposals. In his view, the idea of reducing, among other combat aircraft, anti-aircraft defence fighters which are not designed to strike ground targets does not correspond to the understanding, already reached by the sides, that only destabilising, offensive types of armaments should be cut at the first stage.

The President's initiative for cutting to equal ceilings troops of the USSR and the United States stationed on the territory of other members of both alliances does not take into account the armed forces of Britain, France, Canada and Belgium on West German territory—a total of about 100,000 men.

The second phase of the talks calls for the concentration of efforts on extending and deepening the already found areas of accord which could form the basis of the initial agreement on reducing troops and conventional arms in Europe, Grinevskiy said.

Bush Statement on Tactical Nuclear Weapons 'Weak'
LD1806035189 Moscow in English to North America
2200 GMT 17 Jun 89

["Moscow viewpoint" by Valentin Zorin]

[Text] During his just-ended visit to West Germany, Mikhail Gorbachev assessed favorably the reply of the United States and NATO to the proposal on conventional arms put forward by the Warsaw Treaty countries.

He singled out certain aspects on which the position of the West met the position of the East halfway. Since I was in Brussels at the time when President Bush spelled out his new initiative, I would like to share some of my impressions.

I think those journalists were right who spoke about the American President's successful debut on the international scene. Indeed, a bold move was made in Brussels and political wisdom was displayed. Up to recently it was a rule for American diplomacy to reject almost any major disarmament initiative put forward by the Soviet Union. Whenever Moscow came up with a proposal, Washington immediately tried to question it or turn it down without any necessary analysis. This time, while introducing his package of proposals in Brussels, the president gave, if not a complete, then a serious and concrete answer to the Soviet initiative.

Experts in Moscow are now studying carefully NATO's latest proposals. They will be examined soon by the leading body of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. In my opinion, however, now the prospects for attaining an agreement on the reduction of the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe have improved considerably. Yet I believe that much more could have been achieved if the West had accepted the proposal on tactical weapons introduced by the Soviet Union and its allies without all kinds of reservations and conflicts.

The part of the Brussels statement by President Bush devoted to them was to my mind weak and vulnerable. One could feel in it the desire to perpetuate the nuclear containment strategy and thereby the nuclear threat. One gets the impression that even taking a considerable step forward in the question of conventional arms reduction, Washington is still not prepared to give up the stereotypes of the past: Concerning nuclear weapons, the stereotypes according to which nuclear weapons were proclaimed as guarantors of peace.

Now that the number of nuclear powers threatens to grow, it's about time to give up the past illusions. The time is not far away when nuclear weapons may fall into the hands of people who we can hardly be put under the category of responsible politicians. The idea that such weapons may be regarded as a peace factor has grown obsolete. The call for an immediate opening of talks over tactical nuclear weapons made by the Soviet Union and its allies stands in full conformity with the concept of the prevention of a surprise attack in Europe through bringing about disarmament there. And this is the concept accepted today both in the West and in the East.

Yazov Cited on Arms Talks, Troop Reductions
LD1706135289 Moscow World Service in English
0310 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Report on interview with Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov by unidentified interviewer; date, place not specified]

[Text] The Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl signed a document in Bonn which called, among other things, for the energetic

continuation of the process of disarmament and arms control. There's a number of arms control talks currently being held by East and West officials in Geneva and Vienna. Not all of them have been successful. What makes for successful talks? Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov comments:

I believe, Dmitriy Yazov said, that talks should be held with the balance of interests of both sides considered. If we don't take the balance of interests into account what's the reason for such talks? We will simply end up trying to deceive each other. Each state, however large or small, will insist that its specific interests be taken into account at any talks. Apart from conducting talks on arms control and reduction this country has called for steps to remove foreign bases from other countries, and to remove foreign troops. And, as you know, Dmitriy Yazov said, we have started pulling out our own troops from foreign territories as part of our unilateral efforts to reduce our armed forces. I believe, the Soviet defense minister said, that such measures should be taken on a comprehensive basis involving arms and troop reductions.

Last December Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev told the United Nations General Assembly that this country was planning to reduce its armed forces by 500,000 men within 2 years. And in March the Soviet parliament issued a decree specifying the terms of reduction and a time span. It's to be completed in 1990. But 500,000 men are a lot of people to be suddenly relieved from military service. What will be their future? Another question to Defense Minister Yazov:

This, he said, is perhaps the most important question of the Defense Ministry, but also of other government agencies too. Of the total 500,000 men to be demobilized 100,000 will be members of the officers corp. There will be 50,000 noncommissioned officers out of a job, too. Most of these men have families to take care of and many of them will need to be rehoused and relocated, said Defense Minister Yazov.

Weil, it appears from his remarks that military officials will be choosy about what units will have to go and which officers are facing demobilization. It won't be exactly a lock, stock, an barrel reduction. Speaking of who is to be demobilized the first to go will be those who have served the required army stint, Defense Minister Yazov said. The young officers will be allowed to stay on, unless they want to retire, of course. And we don't want to hurt anyone's feelings. See, for example, the 40th army which was withdrawn from Afghanistan last February. All officers in that army have been placed elsewhere in the Soviet Armed Forces. And those who wish to retire, of course. And we don't want to hurt anyone's feelings. See, for example, the 40th army which was withdrawn from Afghanistan last February. All officers in that army have been placed elsewhere in the Soviet Armed Forces. And those who wished to retire are allowed to do so. Practically we've had no problem there. It's important

to remember, said Dmitriy Yazov, that we're dealing here with the destinies of individual persons and their families, and not with generalities, as the term demobilization may suggest.

The Soviet defense minister was also asked whether he saw any future in the concept of the common European home that's being widely promoted by Soviet leaders. He said: I see a future in this concept if all states and peoples inhabiting Europe are interested in this. You can build this home on the basis of peace, mutual acceptance, brotherhood and equality. But if there are forces involved that seek to rip off unilateral advantages from this process there is no way we can ever build such a common European home, however, attractive it may be, said Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov.

Bush Approach to SDI 'More Restrained'

PM1606140989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
16 Jun 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by D. Klimov under the rubric "Pertinent Notes": "Dubious Legacy"]

[Text] All the indications are that the current U.S. leadership is taking a more restrained approach toward the SDI program than the Reagan administration. It has already been proposed to make the program more moderate and cut the appropriations requested for it. Obviously, the current administration, unlike its predecessor, which considered the "Star Wars" program a policy priority, is not prepared for any radical steps with respect to SDI and is faced with the hard choice of direction in which to pursue further work in this sphere.

Bequeathing the Bush administration its draft military budget for fiscal 1990, the previous administration insisted on the allocation of \$5.9 billion to the SDI organization. But, as U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney stated, spending on SDI will be cut to a planned level of \$4.6 billion. Cheney also recommended cutting appropriations for scientific research under this program in the next 4 years from \$40 billion to \$33 billion. And, talking about the need for cuts, he simultaneously stated: "If we reach a level where we are able to deploy a space-based ABM [Anti-Ballistic Missile] system—and I am inclined to think that this will happen some day—and if such a deployment were incompatible with the ABM Treaty, I would advocate the abandonment of the treaty and... the deployment of the defense system."

Although there is overall understanding within the administration of the need for substantial amendments to the "Star Wars" program, the progress of the policy discussion in the ABM defense sphere has nonetheless thrown up major disagreements. According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, representatives of the Joint Chiefs of Staff are calling for restraint with regard to SDI and for development work to be restricted solely to research and testing within the framework of the program. The

Joint Chiefs' position is conditioned above all by concern that the growing expenditures on SDI may force the United States to cut spending on its strategic and conventional arms development programs. The U.S. State Department, THE NEW YORK TIMES points out, supports this position.

Another point of view is held by representatives of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, who believe that Bush should continue Reagan's policy on SDI. Those within the agency who advocate the creation of a large-scale space-based ABM system believe that this approach would give the United States an "extra trump card" at the strategic arms talks.

Currently one of the most important questions for the U.S. Administration is that of the future direction of SDI. The new "Brilliant Pebbles" concept that was put forward changed the emphasis in the research program. It envisages placing in low-earth orbit approximately 10,000 small antimissile missiles designed to hit enemy missiles before warhead separation. Such a system, in the opinion of U.S. specialists, could be deployed by 1994, and its development would cost approximately \$25 billion. Obviously, the system's deployment would mark the beginning of the militarization of space, with all the unpredictable consequences this entails. It would also lead to extreme destabilization in Soviet-U.S. relations and the international situation as a whole.

Another approach to SDI is also proposed. The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR expresses the opinion that research on SDI should be continued, but the annual spending on the program should not exceed \$3 billion—a considerably smaller amount than that proposed by the Pentagon. In the newspaper's opinion, "there should be no attempt to achieve the rapid deployment of space-based interceptors." At the same time, attention is focused on Senator S. Nunn's proposal to reorient SDI in such a way that it would present, in the senator's words, a "sensible defense initiative" aimed at developing a defense against an unintentional or accidental launch. Nunn's proposal reflected the acute contradictions between the Reagan administration and Congress over SDI—differences that were seen particularly clearly during the 1987 debates—and was an attempt to find an acceptable compromise.

In analyzing the proposal to develop an ABM system in the event of an unintentional launch, attention is drawn to the fact that it is virtually impossible to determine the scale of such a deployment. In many respects it would be provocative, since it would stimulate the other side to take countermeasures which would undoubtedly boil down to developing a similar system. As a result, its deployment could lead to the same consequences as implementing the ambitious "Brilliant Pebbles" concept.

The United States is also proposing a more realistic approach to the SDI problem and the question of putting weapons into space. Thus Senators T. Harkin and M.

Hatfield put forward a draft "law on the protection of open space," which has already gained the support of 10 senators, for examination by the Congress. The draft law envisages a ban on the testing, production, and deployment of any arms system designed to be deployed in open space or to hit any target on earth, in the atmosphere, or in space.

The document contains an appeal to the U.S. President to start talks with the USSR aimed at working out an agreement to ban space weapons, establish a reliable verification system, and initiate a discussion on this issue at the United Nations.

It is still hard to say how the fate of SDI will turn out. The Bush administration is still only at the very beginning of its term of office. But it is crystal clear that the decisions taken in this sphere will largely determine the future of Soviet-U.S. relations and the international climate worldwide.

Perfilyev Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 16 Jun

On Intentions Toward Philippines

LD1606160289 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT
16 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—The Soviet Union has most friendly feelings towards the Philippines and the Filipinos. It has never threatened and is not going to threaten the Philippines or any other country, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information directorate, told a briefing here today.

Commenting on news reports from Manila, he said that new attempts are being made to kindle passions around the allegation that Soviet missiles are directed at the American military bases Subic Bay and Clark Field, and that this poses a direct threat to the Philippines.

The Soviet Union favours elimination of the nuclear-missile weapons and it has officially pledged not to use it first, Perfilyev emphasised. He also said that the Soviet Union had proposed to discuss this matter and take concrete measures to lower military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region. The Soviet Union has made several major practical steps to achieve this goal. Unfortunately, none of these initiatives have received an adequate response, Perfilyev said.

Speaking about military bases on foreign territories, he said that the Soviet Union had suggested that such bases and any foreign military presence be eliminated by the year 2000. The implementation of this Soviet proposal would guarantee genuine security to all, Perfilyev stressed.

On Ties With EC, Afghanistan

LD1606160689 Moscow TASS in English 1541 GMT
16 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—Speaking at a briefing today, First Deputy Head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate Vadim Perfilyev commented on the decision taken by the ministerial council of the European Communities to endorse the directives for the EEC commission's negotiations with the Soviet Union on conclusion of an agreement on trade and cooperation.

It is the cause of satisfaction in the Soviet Union that its proposal for broad areas of cooperation (trade, industry, investments, science and technology, transport and energetics) has been received by the communities with understanding and found reflection in the endorsed directives, Vadim Perfilyev said. This warrants the hope that negotiations will make it possible to conclude the agreement which will promote a progressive development of the USSR's bilateral business relations with EEC member-countries and the Soviet Union's cooperation with the EEC, as an organisation.

Such an agreement should be mutually beneficial, equal and non-discriminatory and reflect a mutually-acceptable balance of interests of the sides, stressed the USSR Foreign Ministry's representative.

Touching upon the situation in Afghanistan, Vadim Perfilyev said that in the past two days Pakistani mercenaries bombarded Jalalabad, killing four civilians and wounding sixteen. The situation in Tarin Kowt (the Uruzgan Province) is growing complicated, he said. Extremists have cut off the road to the town, and it receives no more supplies of food and other essentials.

The Soviet Union hopes, Perfilyev said, that the current 11th round of Soviet-American consultations in Geneva on prohibition of chemical weapons will become efficient and promote the search for agreed decisions on such questions as verification on challenge, the procedure of destruction of stocks of chemical weapons and structures for its production. The consultations are supplementing the multilateral negotiations on concluding a convention on full prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons.

'Observers Roundtable' on Results of FRG Visit

LD1806173389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1130 GMT 18 Jun 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Academician Georgiy Arkadiyevich Arbatov, director of the United States of America and Canada Institute; Vitaliy Vladimirovich Zhurkin, director of the European Institute and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and Viktor Nikolayevich Levin, All-Union Radio commentator]

[Text] [Levin] For 4 days we witnessed a major event for our country and the Federal Republic of Germany, and not only for them. I mean Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany. Now this visit is over. A considerable amount has already been said on the results. Today we will try to determine the main results of this visit, analyze them and present our opinions on what effect this visit may have both on the development of bilateral relations and on the international situation as a whole.

[Arbatov] This has been, without doubt, one of the major political events of the year, one of the major events in international life. I heard these words at the press conference: that we were present at the funeral of the cold war. And there is probably quite a lot in that. Actually, Comrade Gorbachev said something similar, replying roughly to the effect that we have at last emerged from that dark period.

For bilateral relations, this is the completion of this turn, which began perhaps somewhat earlier and was marked by the visits of President Weizsacker and Chancellor Kohl to Moscow and has now come to completion. But I think it will be of enormous importance at the regional

level, too, for Europe's future, and also globally. Everything is interconnected, and I'd just like to remind you that the detente of the 1970s—even though later we did not succeed in maintaining it and learning the necessary lessons from it and preventing those backslidings, something for which we have been partly responsible—but the accords with the United States were preceded by the Moscow treaties which radically altered our relations with West Germany. This is a pivotal question for Europe and a pivotal question for East-West relations generally, because it was in fact because of this and over this that the cold war began, and it is here that it must end.

[Levin] One must say that the funeral turned out to be a very bright and energetic one. After all, people are so tired of the cold war that they did not hide their feelings and more than once during Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to the FRG, whether in Bonn, Cologne, Dortmund, Duesseldorf, everywhere there was an explosion of rejoicing which is indisputably explained by the fact that people attach great expectations to a radical change in the international situation.

[Zhurkin] At the same time it seems to me that this visit also laid the foundations for new constructive steps for the future. The joint declaration is indubitably a unique document. We have no other such joint declaration with other Western powers. Perhaps one will appear in the future, God willing, as they say, but today there is just one, with the Federal Republic of Germany. For this expounds both joint understanding, albeit very short, of the idea of a pan-European home, and states that the idea of a pan-European home and also a peaceful European order is the West German approach to this conception of the future security of Europe. On the whole they should gradually be achieved, evidently, and it will be a long and difficult process, but some joint points have been worked out, set out, and joint foundations have been laid for this subsequent work and therefore this will be of great political importance not only for the two countries, but also for Europe and naturally, in the final analysis, for the whole world.

[Levin] We have been telling our listeners in detail about the meetings and conversations Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev had, but with him here in Bonn during these days were also Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, our country's foreign minister, and Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, secretary of the party Central Committee. There were also other members of the delegation and all of them also conducted conversations. I know that you, Georgiy Arkadiyevich and Vitaliy Vladimirovich, have also participated in many conversations and negotiations. Mikhail Sergeyevich remarked at a press conference that these conversations broadened the compass of the negotiations. What could you tell us about those meetings and about those conversations with various representatives of FRG political circles?

[Arbatov] Do you know, I was more interested not in what is already all right. We know about that anyway and we write about it. Rather I tried to understand our weak points better. We certainly have some. The level of the practical realization of agreements in the economy is lagging behind very seriously, as well as in technical cooperation and other fields of cooperation and political agreements that have been achieved where we are without doubt ahead, where we set the tone and open the way to the future.

Stable relations with West Germany—and West Germany is our chief partner—are terribly important for us, in my opinion. The country is first in the world in exports. It exceeds Japan and even the United States. It is a country where they have achieved a high level of development in many areas of industry and technology. It is remarkable that chemical plants and large metallurgical plants stand next to woods, trees, flowers, and grass, all living in harmony. We could receive a great deal from West Germany. Now that possibility is surprisingly favorable. It has become appealing, even fashionable, in the good sense of the word, to have relations with the Soviet Union.

I happened to talk with very important bankers and industrialists and they are all pleased and ready to investigate the possibilities, but we are not yet ready to accept. We have this laxity which, I would say, begins from the top of our economic administration. Much criticism is directed at the Council of Ministers, the apparatus of the Council of Ministers, the ministers and ministries, those who are literally spoiling a good undertaking. I hope very much that the Supreme Soviet and its new commissions will finally put an end to this irresponsibility, this total stupidity that is costing us and has cost us a great deal, and which, incidentally, sullies our reputation throughout the world. We can draw a great deal from this, and not only draw, but give as well. We have science, we have good technology. We can be equal to them. [indistinct interruption]

No, I'm sorry, for this it is necessary to radically change our [changes thought] it is of course part of the economic reform. It seems to me that that has become clear also to our leadership from these conversations. This was talked about directly from platforms, too, in a very benevolent tone, and with regret and bitterness we are missing very big opportunities.

I nevertheless hope that we will find within ourselves the strength to somehow overcome this oblomovism [sluggishness and indecision, typified by author Goncharov's fictional hero Oblomov], arrant bureaucracy and absurdity and leave all this behind us. The most senior people—it's even really embarrassing to name them—are afraid of taking elementary decisions, evidently through incompetence, which also reigns in many areas.

If we find within ourselves the strength to do that, then relations with West Germany will give us a great deal economically and in the scientific and technical sphere, just as with other countries.

[Lenin] This whole question of what the visit does for the internal life of Soviet people, what it does for our everyday life, so to speak, kept cropping up here when we were thinking about the results of the visit, and it is a question that probably occurs to our radio listeners as well. What you are saying seems to me to show precisely what huge opportunities for a direct upswing in the everyday well-being of Soviet people are stored up in the accords that were reached. Now...

[Arbatov, interrupting] I will just interrupt you here. No one is going to solve our problems for us, including our economic problems. We must first and foremost tackle the problems of economic reform in our country. Our foreign economic relations are a very important component, sometimes the catalyst, sometimes even an important area for experiment which can subsequently be introduced into our domestic economy. West Germany is our prime partner here, and there are opportunities for augmenting its role many times.

[Levin] During the course of the visit a joint statement was signed setting out the philosophical approaches of the two countries to their relations and to European and world policy as a whole; and also 12 specific agreements were signed on various spheres of economic, cultural, and humanitarian development and so forth. There is now no more important task than that of implementing these agreements. If they are to meet the same fate as the agreements concluded previously, then the significance of the visit will of course decline abruptly. Is it our common task to ensure that this does not happen.

[Zhurkin] This is the basis for work by both sides, of course, but all the same, where the economic sphere is concerned, I am wholly in agreement that the main burden of the work will lie on our side. It should be said that in economic relations the greatest progress has been made with the FRG. This relates not only to trade. For instance, we have the greatest number of agreements on joint ventures with the Federal Republic, and some have already been initiated. But this demands an exceptionally great amount of attention, because it is not enough to conclude an agreement on a joint venture. Often, even starting joint production is not enough, because if you start joint production where the quality of goods, for instance, is lower than that of the main firm entering into a cooperation with us, then that will yield very little. So there must be a colossal amount of work both in our state apparatus, our ministries, and in our departments. In the enterprises themselves a great deal of effort will be required from staff directly involved, from workers, technicians, and engineers in order to make use of what we are now obtaining through West German credits and joint enterprise, and joint enterprises in various spheres,

including many in the sphere of basic everyday life, spheres in which consumer goods will be produced, goods, that is, for our people.

[Levin] I know that you, Vitaliy Vladimirovich, took part in one of the meetings with the leadership of the Green Party. Georgiy Arkadiyevich has pointed out that here in the Federal Republic you are often struck by the fact that greenery is growing well alongside a chemical plant, although the West Germans themselves say that the ecological situation is under stress in our country. Nevertheless, a very great deal of attention is of course given to these matters. We can probably learn something from this, too.

[Zhurkin] There is a very great deal here that we can learn from. Furthermore, if you can put it like this, in various dimensions. First, the programs which are being drawn up—particularly in the states but also at the federal level are for environmental protection and ecological protection. These do indeed require no small capital investment but draw the whole of society into this work. Furthermore, the programs start literally from school age, where children are taught that nature is now under threat. From the very earliest years, this feeling of ecological self-awareness is inculcated, as an aspect of modern human civilization.

The second very important sphere—we could enumerate many of these—is setting up plants, to make it very advantageous and profitable for the firms setting up such plants. The FRG, furthermore, is building enterprises for garbage disposals and for recycling certain products, for example, literally all over the world. All in all, as far as I know talks have already been held here during Mikhail Sergeyevich's visit, on direct production cooperation with West German firms in these spheres.

[Levin] Vitaliy Vladimirovich, what was your impression of the Greens?

[Zhurkin] They gave the impression of being a very dynamic political force, one which is, I would say, growing in strength, and which in general recognized earlier than many of us the danger emerging in the environment. They have been talking about this for many years, but it is only in the last few years that all mankind has been talking about it more or less actively. This is a dynamic force, a dynamic force indeed. Well, we will discover how strong the Greens are in Europe quite soon, when the results of the European Parliament elections, which are being held today are reported. These were held in five countries on Thursday, and will take place in the other seven countries of the EC, including the FRG, today, Sunday. To judge from the predictions, the Greens, and the left as a whole, will gain ground, and in some countries will gain quite a lot of ground in these elections.

[Levin] Now we will move to some very important problems relating to the significance of Mikhail Sergeyevich's visit to the Federal Republic and the talks which took place here: the significance for Europe and the world as a whole. It was repeatedly emphasized here that the significance of the visit goes far beyond the bounds of bilateral relations. This is evident from the joint statement, too, which expounds the philosophical conception of the two countries' approach both to the construction of a common European home, and to the solution of problems of worldwide importance. It is worth dwelling in more detail on this issue.

[Arbatov] I think the visit was of very great important first and foremost in terms of the contribution it makes to improving the political situation and the political atmosphere. On disarmament, even though the talks yielded no particular results, there is no reason to be especially distressed. The FRG belongs to the NATO alliance, where active discussions have been held and some agreements worked out. Contradictions have emerged in the positions of the Federal Republic and many of its allies. But we set ourselves the aim to drive wedges—as many people wrote...

[Levin, interrupting] Yes, a lot was written about that...

[Arbatov, interrupting] Yes, to drive in wedges and cause the FRG to quarrel with its allies, and so on. I only regard with understanding the fact that in taking a stand on certain military-political issues, in particular in expressing its desire to enter into negotiations on the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons and objecting to the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons, West Germany has remained a loyal member of the alliance and has sought some solutions behind NATO's back. Nevertheless, I think that the meeting was very important in terms of disarmament as well. As Comrade Gorbachev emphasized, in no way did we try to drive a wedge between West Germany and the United States, between West Germany and its other allies; in no way aimed to destroy NATO, did not call into question the FRG's membership or participation in NATO.

In effect, however, what happened was that NATO and the Western alliance was created in order to repulse the threat from the East, the threat emanating from the Soviet Union. All of our policy recently, the new political thinking and in particular the visit to West Germany, cuts the ground away from under all these ideas about there being an enemy in the East who will attack at any minute, so therefore it is necessary to arm oneself and throw together a military bloc and so on. This is a very perceptible blow, and I think there is a feeling in the United States and Britain and in France and on the part of some people in the FRG, that in some way or another the ground is being dug away from under the foundations of all postwar policy, the policy of the cold war. And they are not ready for this. I am sure, for instance, that among the many dozens of scenarios for all situations in life which have been drawn up by the Pentagon,

the CIA, the State Department, the U.S. National Security Council and in NATO headquarters, there is not a single scenario of peaceful, calm development.

This isn't just a question of extreme rightwingers or anything like that. A great deal has turned out to be bound up in this, for people, for entire groups, for entire industries, for entire professions and even psychologically. Like fundamentalist religions, this is something that exists when there is a Satan alongside a God—when you remove the Satan you no longer feel yourself to be God's chosen one. You become just like everyone else. You are obliged to turn to your own affairs and get to work on them. And they are always unpleasant. Sometimes domestic affairs are the toughest ones.

This is another of the features of our time that has, well, been picked up by the new political thinking. In all countries—large and small, rich and poor, developed and developing—domestic problems have everywhere come to the fore in the entire list of priorities. It has turned out that our foreign policy has taken on a new function—that of creating favorable external conditions for tackling domestic problems, for everyone to get on with their own business instead of thinking about empires or fantasizing about extending spheres of interest.

This is the direction in which things should be channelled, plus cooperation in tackling the global problems that exist and are on the increase. There's been a change of threat. There is no threat. I can't imagine the United States or NATO going and declaring war on us, nor do I think that they nowadays imagine we would do so. But on the other hand, ecological problems, the problems of backwardness, of developing countries' backwardness, the problems of economic disorder in the world and many others are becoming very real. We have to change tracks and begin combatting these real threats instead of imagined ones, and this is a major break with the past. We have left postwar history behind, a history that had a very prolonged and convulsive end. We are now moving onto a new path and I am proud that our country has made a major contribution. In the West too, you know, they are astounded by this. How is it, they are saying, that you have any number of economic problems. Your shop shelves are empty. You have ethnic problems flaring up here and there in such dramatic ways, but you have nonetheless shown our intellectual superiority in politics? You seized the initiative, and we have faced up to reality and begun heeding common sense.

And this has proved to be a most powerful weapon. The world is turning to face us. We saw this in West Germany, where they have never given anyone a welcome like that before. Emotionally, it was like some quite extraordinary kind of spectacle. And what's more it wasn't organized in any way. There are no party or trade union organizations there that would assemble people and place them beside posts with banners. The streets

were full of people, they were shouting, crying and waving posters. The fear under which they lived has been lifted. Restructuring has become an international factor.

This change in our image is not just due to the new foreign policy or our unilateral moves, but to the restructuring, the openness, the truth, the Congress. This is of great importance in international politics. If you are confident that the other side is taking foreign policy decisions, including those relating to war and peace, by democratic means you are far more at ease. But if you know that three or four men in an office somewhere behind three guard posts can send their troops into another country or do something else, you will naturally all the time take a distrustful attitude. If the budget is publicized, if the military budget is known, if it is known how much, without the details that constitute military secrets, but basically what is allocated where, this is one thing. But if this is all concealed or given in figures that nobody believes, it's another matter. All that has been done lately and is invaluable capital for us.

[Zhurkin] Many people, well-informed people, have faith in the success of the restructuring and trust in restructuring. This could be sensed both in the conversations with businessmen and the discussions with many politicians—a feeling that the Soviet Union has taken a

path from which it will not turn aside, and on which it will begin to acquire more and more that is positive and to tackle its problems. That feeling could be sensed in the dialogues and conversations with our German colleagues.

[Levin] In conclusion, I think we could say that some very solid foundations have been laid here both for the common European home and for the kind of international relations that would be in line with the principles of the new political thinking. The visit was a big event, a very big one, and I would not be in the least surprised if, at some point in the future when it becomes possible to make comparisons to juxtapose and analyze it in greater depth, it is described as historic.

[Arbatov] There's just one thing I'd like to add to that. We should, all the same, regard these developments not as isolated events, but as a process. And for this reason I am already certain that our country's policymakers are already thinking about what comes next. There is tremendous scope, and I think this is a very important part, an important milestone in this process of radical change in international relations.

[Levin] Our time has run out. Thank you, comrades, for listening, and all the best!

United States & Canada

Crowe Continues Tour of Military Facilities

Meets With Yazov, Comments on Visit

PM1606122589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
15 Jun 89 First Edition p 3

[Captain 2d Rank V. Kocherov report: "Visit Continues"]

[Text] Admiral W. Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, met with Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, 13 June.

J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, took part in the talk.

That day Adm W. Crowe visited a missile unit. He then visited the Kubinka Air Garrison, where he was shown combat equipment. At the end of his visit Adm W. Crowe answered questions from Soviet and foreign journalists.

[Question] What importance do you attach to your visit to the Soviet Union?

[Crowe] A great deal of importance. I am sure that it symbolizes an improvement in relations between our Armed Forces and our countries as a whole. Of course, many people find it unusual that the two countries' higher military commands are having such exchange visits, but this should not be considered extraordinary these days.

[Question] Did you discuss the questions of short-range tactical missiles with Army General Moiseyev?

[Crowe] No, we did not cover those issues.

[Question] Yesterday Gorbachev stated in Bonn that the "cold war" period is over. What do you think?

[Crowe] I wouldn't want to use the term "cold war" nowadays. I think that our current task is to maintain and atmosphere of dialogue and exchanges.

Answering a question from a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent on what he thought of the combat aircraft he had just seen, Adm W. Crowe stated: "I am very impressed by what I have seen. It is world-class hardware operated by top-notch specialists."

In the afternoon Adm W. Crowe visited the K.Ye. Voroshilov Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy. He familiarized himself with the teaching laboratory facilities and the organization of the teaching process, and addressed the academy's teaching staff and students.

The guest was accompanied by Army Gen M.A. Moiseyev.

Flies to Murmansk, Visits 'Kirov'

PM1606130389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
16 Jun 89 First Edition p 3

[Own correspondent Capt 3d Rank P. Ishchenko report: "Tour of the Country"]

[Text] Admiral W. Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, who is on an official visit to our country at the invitation of Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, visited the USSR Academy of Sciences 14 June, where he attended an enlarged session of the scientific council on the "National Security, Strategic Equilibrium, Arms Control" fundamental research program. Adm W. Crowe spoke on the subject "Relations Between U.S. and Soviet Armed Forces" and answered questions from the session participants.

The same day, as part of Adm W. Crowe's official visit, meetings were held between the deputy chiefs of staff of the U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force, and the assistant commandant of the U.S. Marines on the one hand, and the corresponding chiefs of the main staffs of the USSR Ground Forces, Air Force, and Navy, and the main USSR Navy marines specialist on the other.

In the afternoon Adm W. Crowe saw the sights of the Kremlin in Moscow.

On 15 June, Adm W. Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, who is on an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of Army Gen M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, left on a tour of the country.

Adm W. Crowe arrived in Murmansk the same day. He was met at the airport by fleet commander Admiral F.N. Gromov, and other Soviet Armed Forces admirals, generals, and officers.

Adm W. Crowe visited a modern nuclear submarine. He was taken to sea aboard the nuclear missile cruiser "Kirov," from where he observed combat exercises in which ships of the Northern Fleet used missiles and ASW [antisubmarine warfare] weapons.

In the afternoon Adm W. Crowe visited a marines unit, where he watched a demonstration of combat hardware and a marines exercise.

The guest was accompanied by Army Gen M.A. Moiseyev.

Arrives in Leningrad 15 Jun

LD1506210289 Moscow TASS in English 1914 GMT
15 Jun 89

[Text] Leningrad June 15 TASS—Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, arrived in Leningrad on Thursday.

He is currently in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of General of the Army Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and first deputy minister of defence.

On the way from the airport the guest and his party laid flowers at the monument to the heroic defenders of Leningrad, honouring the memory of the cityfolk and servicemen who had perished during the 900-day Nazi blockade of the city.

General Moiseyev who is accompanying Admiral Crowe in the tour of the country arrived here together with him.

Meets Leningrad Military Commander

LD1606215989 *Moscow Domestic Service in Russian*
1800 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] Admiral Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States of America, is continuing his stay in the USSR. Today [16 June] he paid a visit to Colonel General Yermakov, troop commander of the Leningrad Military District. He also took a trip around the city. He looked at the Hermitage's collection, visited the Aurora cruiser, and spent some time in Petrodvorets. At the Piskarevskoye Memorial Cemetery the admiral honored the memory of the citizens and servicemen who fell during the siege and laid a wreath.

Visits Volgograd, Flies to Tashkent

LD1806183289 *Moscow TASS International Service*
in Russian 1318 GMT 18 Jun 89

[By TASS correspondent Inna Biryukova]

[Text] Volgograd, 18 Jun (TASS)— The paths of the memory of fighting cooperation between Soviet and U.S. soldiers during World War II today led Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces, to the heroic town of the Volga. From the airport the guest, who is on an official visit to the Soviet Union, went to the square of fallen fighters. Here he honored the memory of the heroic defenders of the town by laying a wreath at the eternal flame.

"This town," he told a TASS correspondent, "is widely known throughout the world and in the United States, too. The victory of Soviet troops in the battle on the Volga was a turning point in World War II. Americans of my generation always remember this."

The admiral gave his brief interview at the legendary Mamayev Kurgan which was the site of the most bitter fighting for the town in the days of the battle for Stalingrad. A magnificent memorial has been built there in memory of its heroic defenders. The guest laid flowers and made an entry in the honored visitors book in the memorial's hall of military glory. "Our visit to this sacred place was both a tribulation and an inspiration.

The blood that was shed here is testimony to the courage and staunchness of Soviet soldiers and the Soviet people. We will always remember this on our return to the United States."

Adm William Crowe described the agreement signed between the Soviet and U.S. Governments the other day on averting dangerous military activity as an important political step.

Today the U.S. guest also flew from Volgograd to Tashkent.

Recent U.S.-Soviet Talks on Global Issues Noted

PM1406140989 *Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA*
in Russian 9 Jun 89 Single Edition p 3

[Manki Ponomarev answer to reader's letter under the rubric "International Observer Answers Reader": "Transnational Problems"; first two paragraphs are introduction and reader's letter]

[Text] Major I. Sokolovskiy addressed the following question to the editorial office:

"I have read in press articles on the results of U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker's visit to Moscow that during his talks with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze a number of transnational problems were discussed, among others. For some reason I have not come across references to these problems before. What are these problems, whom do they concern, who raised them, and how are they being resolved?"

Until recently in the course of Soviet-U.S. dialogue its participants have, as a rule, centered their attention on four groups or complexes of questions: Disarmament (or arms control, to use the American terminology), bilateral relations, regional problems, and humanitarian issues (human rights). This has been the case at summit meetings and in talks between the leaders of our two countries' foreign policy departments. Of course, depending on the specific situation, different issues would come to the fore. But, as a whole, the discussion did not extend beyond the limits of the circle here described.

But during the recent talks between E.A. Shevardnadze and J. Baker, in addition to these four groups of questions under discussion, transnational problems were also considered, as you, Comrade Sokolovskiy, rightly point out. The U.S. secretary of state took the initiative in raising these problems. But the Soviet side willingly supported this sensible idea of his. After all, these are problems of vitally great significance not only to our states and peoples but to the whole of mankind. At the talks, the transnational issues—in other words, those which transcend national issues—included questions such as environmental protection, collaboration in the struggle against natural disasters, transport safety, the fight against international terrorism, and cooperation aimed at enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations.

Generally speaking, all these problems have been around for some time. We have long counted a large proportion of them, if not all of them, as global problems—in other words, problems which concern all countries and peoples to a greater or lesser degree and can only be resolved through common, joint efforts.

Take environmental protection, for example. The "greenhouse effect," which is leading to a warmer climate on a global scale, a rise in the level of the world's oceans as a result of ice melting, the flooding of vast land masses, rapid growth in desert regions, and other problems. Or the formation of a "hole in the ozone" which threatens to weaken the protection afforded by the atmosphere against the sun's harsh rays, lethal to all forms of life. Or "acid rain," which affects forest vegetation on a vast scale. Or pollution of the soil, water, and the atmosphere—the whole environment of man and mankind. All these problems have become very serious in recent years. They are transnational problems, because they recognize no state or national boundaries. They are global, because they affect the whole globe.

The threat of ecological catastrophe is evident. That is why, in his speech to the United Nations last December, M.S. Gorbachev very strongly raised the issue of the world community having to learn to shape and direct world progress in such a way as to preserve civilization and make it safer for all and more favorable to normal life. He also made specific proposals: in particular, to set up a center for urgent ecological aid under the United Nations and create an international space laboratory or manned orbital station to monitor the state of the environment.

The Soviet Union has developed these proposals and made them more specific in connection with the proposed convening of a UN conference in 1992 on the environment and development. In the Soviet Union's opinion, it should be conducted at the very highest political level and devoted to the task of ensuring international ecological safety or, in other words, protecting and improving the quality of the environment in conjunction with stable development.

It simply is not possible to dwell in such detail on the other transnational problems discussed in Moscow by the heads of the Soviet and U.S. foreign policy departments. Suffice it to say that they are now an independent area of Soviet-U.S. dialogue. Of course, the participants in the talks did not have the opportunity to go into details—there was too little time for this and too many other complex problems they had to deal with. Nevertheless, they touched on these problems on a general, conceptual level, so to speak. What is more, a special working group of experts was set up on transnational problems and reported the results of its discussions to the ministers.

Although the ministers in Moscow only outlined their approaches to future decisions and actions, one thing is beyond doubt: The very fact that the question of transnational problems has been placed on the agenda of Soviet-U.S. talks is further evidence that world politics are increasingly coming to be determined not so much by the national interests of different states as by the priority of common human values. In other words, we are entering an era where progress will be founded on common human interest.

This is when the question of a new role for the United Nations arises. It is no accident that cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States aimed at enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations is a topical transnational problem. The Soviet Union proceeds from the fact that this organization has been playing a noticeably more active role recently. It has demonstrated its ability to help peoples to meet the awesome challenges of the time and now new possibilities are opening up before the United Nations in every sphere within its competence: military-political, economic, scientific and technical, ecological, and humanitarian. This approach taken by the Soviet Union accords with the hopes and aspirations of the world community.

One last observation, Comrade Sokolovskiy, which I obviously must make in answering your questions. Yes, the U.S. side is responsible for placing transnational problems on the agenda of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue. But this does not mean, of course, that the Soviet Union did not devote attention to these problems before. You have probably noticed how seriously many of them have been raised at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and how much the congress participants take them to heart. But they cannot be resolved by the efforts of our country alone. They are essentially problems common to all mankind. They are so topical and so concern everyone that there is nothing surprising in the fact that they have become a subject of discussion between the Soviet Union and the United States—powers on whose degree of cooperation the international situation as a whole and mankind's opportunity to concern itself with safety not only in the military sphere but also in ecology, transport, and eliminating the consequences of natural disasters and to overcome negative phenomena such as terrorism, the drugs business, AIDS, and other ills of our complex, stormy time largely depend.

USSR-U.S. Statement Calls For Enhanced UN Role
LD1406205789 Moscow TASS in English 2021 GMT
14 Jun 89

[Text] New York June 14 TASS—The Soviet United Nations Association and the United Nations Association of the USA made a call for the enhancement of the United Nations role in the consolidation of peace and security and for the stepping up of cooperation of the USSR and the USA to achieve this goal. Their joint

statement on this question was made public at a news conference held on Wednesday [14 June] at the New York headquarters of the United Nations Association of the USA.

The associations are of the opinion that in conditions of considerable improvement of the international situation, to which the development of Soviet-American relations was an important contribution, the enhancement of the United Nations role in solving such problems of global importance as consolidation of peace and security, economic development, ensurance of human rights, environmental protection serve the interests of the USSR and the USA, and of the entire international community. The associations urged both countries to cooperate in enhancing the United Nations effectiveness. They are of the opinion it is particularly promising in such areas as preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping operations, enhancing the role and widening of functions of the international court of justice, the principal judicial organ of the United Nations.

They recommended to the governments of both countries to resume the practice of annual meetings between their permanent representatives at the United Nations on the eve of the opening of regular sessions of the United Nations general Assembly so as to achieve more coordinated and harmonious approaches to international problems.

Permanent representatives of the USSR and the USA to the United Nations—Aleksandr Belonogov and Thomas Pickering—took part in the news conference. They welcomed the statement of the Soviet and American associations as a business document containing many interesting and specific ideas. Both ambassadors made assurances that the submitted proposals will be thoroughly studied in the capitals of both countries. They supported the idea of joint consultations to be held prior to the opening of sessions of the General Assembly and proclaimed the readiness to enhance cooperation, specifically in the Security Council, of which the USSR and the USA are permanent members.

Bessmertnykh Receives Canadian Ambassador
LD1406195689 Moscow TASS in English 1946 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 14 TASS—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, today received Canadian Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Vernon George Turner. Questions of the development of bilateral Soviet-Canadian relations and of a political dialogue between the two countries were discussed during the conversation.

China

Normalization Takes Course; Problems To Be Solved
LD1506181589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Kulikov in Beijing]

[Text] The process of normalization of the situation in Beijing is taking its course. Signs emerge daily that life is returning to normal. A few details from our correspondent in Beijing, Vladimir Kulikov.

[Kulikov] For me, one such sign has been the Beijing traffic jams—I was stuck in one this morning. Although I had to wait a while in the queue of vehicles, this was not at all annoying. Life in the city is picking up pace, and of course this is gratifying. It is not only city transport but also the enterprise, offices, markets, and shops that are beginning to work with their previous rhythm. But this, of course, is only the exterior aspect of the process taking place. The political, economic, and social problems engendered by the June events are far deeper and more complex, and still await a solution.

There is still martial law in the city. The country's television—and this is what has at the moment become the most up-to-date and hence the chief source of information—is constantly showing the complicated process of political normalization and the work of the military authorities and the public security services in clearing up the aftermath of the events, exposing people in hiding from the laws, and establishing order in other cities in the country. People are also informed about documents and orders connected with the normalization of the situation.

The country's economic problems also constantly make themselves felt. It is these that were spoken of at a recent Beijing conference of the PRC's top leaders by Li Peng, premier of the State Council, and by other Chinese leaders. The speech by Li Peng which was published stresses that the course and direction of party and state policy remain unchanged. In practical terms this means a stabilization of prices in the country; a campaign for the harvest, particularly the grain crop; reductions in investments in capital construction; and other unresolved problems interrupted by the tragic June events.

Near East & South Asia

Hashemi-Rafsanjani To Visit USSR 20 Jun
PM1806142789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 1

["Official Visit to Soviet Union by 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, chairman of the Islamic Council Assembly of the Islamic Republic of Iran and acting supreme commander of the Armed

Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran, will arrive in the Soviet Union 20 June on an official friendly visit at the invitation M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Ties With Iran Discussed
NC1506153289 Moscow in Persian to Iran
1100 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Interview with commentator Aleksandr Batev by unidentified announcer; date and place not given; Batev speaks in Russian with superimposed Persian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] As IRNA reported, 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian parliament, has been reelected to this post for another term. I asked our commentator Aleksandr Batev for his views:

[Batev] The decision of the Majlis, made under circumstances that are very (?formative) for the country, is undoubtedly a boost to Hashemi-Rafsanjani as a prominent political figure in Iran. In addition, the decision also strengthens his position in the presidential elections scheduled for mid-August.

The fact that 230 of the 241 Majlis deputies voted for him and only 1 voted against, indicates the extent of support for the Majlis speaker. This is significant when we remember that some time back only half of the Majlis members voted for constitutional amendments. If these amendments are approved, the power of future Iranian presidents will be greatly strengthened.

[Announcer] A great deal of attention is being focused on Hashemi-Rafsanjani and the Soviet Union is no exception. I think that in our country special attention is being paid to Hashemi-Rafsanjani. Is this not so?

[Batev] Such attention is quite natural. It was decided some time ago that Hashemi-Rafsanjani would visit the Soviet Union in the second half of June. With Imam Khomeyni's demise, the question arose whether the visit would be postponed. In addition, questions about prospects for Soviet-Iranian relations, a subject on which the late imam had had a special influence, arose as well. All these questions were addressed at a recent press conference by the majlis speaker, and he confirmed his plans to visit Moscow in the near future. He also expressed his support for a positive policy towards the expansion of Iranian ties with the Soviet Union. According to him, shortly before Ayatollah Khomeyni died, he had requested that Hashemi-Rafsanjani work to consolidate these ties.

[Announcer] It is natural that such a statement would receive a favorable response in the Soviet Union. However, how will ties between Iran and other countries, especially those whose ties with Iran have been strained recently, develop?

[Batev] In my opinion, the broadening of ties between the Soviet Union and Iran is not an isolated case and should be viewed within the framework of the general trend of an improvement in Iran's ties with other countries. It is well known that Hashemi-Rafsanjani favors a pragmatic [preceding word in English] and expedient policy in foreign and economic relations with countries, including West European ones. Many of the problems surrounding the revitalizing of Iran's economy following the many years of war can be resolved with the help of such relations.

Hashemi-Rafsanjani appears to be directing his attention to resolving domestic problems. To achieve this, it is necessary to maintain healthy and lasting ties with the outside world. However, what has been said so far is nothing more than speculation. Only the future will show whether this is true.

Afghan Foreign Minister on U.S.-Pakistan Talks
LD1606120889 Moscow TASS in English 1153 GMT
16 Jun 89

[Text] Kabul June 16 TASS—The Republic of Afghanistan met with satisfaction and optimism the new elements that had appeared in the position of the U.S. Administration and the Pakistan leadership regarding ways of achieving political settlement of the Afghan problem. However, the pronouncements by U.S. and Pakistani officials on ways of attaining this settlement, made shortly after the visit to Washington by Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, can be barely called realistic, Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil told the BAKHTAR news agency.

The representatives of the U.S. Administration, he continued, even do not try to hide their striving to achieve the settlement through military pressure and political diktat. However, the time that had passed after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan showed with conviction that the plans of the U.S., Pakistan and some other countries to remove the current Afghan Government by military means fell through. On the contrary, military, political and international positions of the Republic of Afghanistan became strengthened. This had to be recognised even by some members of the George Bush administration and the Western press.

'Abdul Wakil said the political settlement could not be brought about if one side sought military superiority over the other. If the U.S. and Pakistan continue arming the intractable opposition, our side will take reply measures. In this way we will retain military preponderance.

The U.S. and Pakistan proposed as one of the possible ways of achieving the political settlement in Afghanistan to remove the current Afghan Government and create the so-called "neutral government of technocrats" which will enter into talks with opposition groups with the aim of creating a broadly-based government. Such pronouncements are also far from realism.

If in 10 years of the war the opposition groups could not find common language between themselves, and contradictions between them continue to worsen day by day, how can they peacefully agree on the division of power, let alone with the neutral government which has no basis under it? Unfortunately, those who make such statements do not take into account that the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and its political allies have a membership of 230,000 people, and the current Afghan Government has powerful and reliable armed forces.

We state once again with all responsibility that there can be neither peaceful settlement of the Afghan problem nor a broadly-based government of national unity without the participation in this process of the current Afghan Government as its main element, the foreign minister stressed.

Afghan Military-Political Developments Updated
PM1506083189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 13 Jun 89 First Edition p 3

["Reportage From Afghanistan" by TASS correspondent Yu. Tyssovski: "Storm Clouds Over the Ancient Hills"]

[Text] Kabul—There are several unusually accurate barometers in Afghanistan which sensitively measure the fluctuations in the pressure of the military-political situation there, recording the slightest changes in it, including the influence of external factors, your TASS correspondent in Kabul reports to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. One such barometer is down near the Kabul River, in the old quarter of Serai Shazad [name as transliterated], where the leading Afghan money changers are located.

An old Sikh acquaintance of mine who is also involved in this business initiated me into the at first glance inexplicable rises and falls of prices on this particular currency exchange. When the Soviet troops were in Afghanistan the U.S. dollar maintained a steady rate of around 200 afghanis. When armed rebel detachments mounted a powerful offensive on Khowst on 23 May and no one could predict the city's fate, the dollar shot up to its highest value this year—420 afghanis. Khowst's defenders beat off the attack and the "greenback" came down to 380 afghanis, and now that it is clear that the diehard opposition will be able to achieve little, it changes hands for even less.

Refugees are another barometer of the Afghan political situation. During the 3 months of fighting for Jalalabad—the administrative center of Nangarhar Province—at least 50,000 people who were in mortal danger in their settlements left for Pakistan. But the reverse process—the return home of hundreds of families from Pakistan and Iran along secret paths—is intensifying: Since the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops,

in all over 35,000 people have crossed the frontier. In other words, people believe that the situation is beginning to move toward stability, otherwise they would not put their lives at risk.

On the other hand, disorder and instability reign in the camp of the diehard opposition entrenched in Peshawar. Which, incidentally, was predicted by the most prescient political observers. Having lost around 9,000 fighters killed or wounded at Jalalabad and Khowst and having finally devalued their already empty promises to implant their still-born "transitional government" on Afghan soil, the extremist ringleaders have begun settling scores with one another, pinning the blame for the failures and miscalculations on their allies in the "alliance of seven."

The scapegoat-hunting season has also opened in Islamabad. In conversation with the well known American specialist on Afghanistan Selig Harrison, the late dictator Ziaul Haq once said: "We have earned the right to have a very friendly regime in Kabul. We will not allow it to be the kind of regime that existed before—under Indian and Soviet influence and laying claim to our territory. It will be a truly Islamic state—part of the pan-Islamic revival which the Muslims in the Soviet Union will one day achieve. You will see this for yourself." After the military dictator's death his "testament" began to be implemented by the ISI—Pakistani army military intelligence, headed by Lieutenant General Hamid Gul, who effectively usurped from Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto the right to determine the Afghan sector of foreign policy. Gul got carte blanche from the CIA, but the defeat at Jalalabad showed that mujahidin combat valor, American weapons, supplied via the ISI, and Saudi gold are incapable of undermining the Afghan leadership's position to any marked degree.

When the defeat at Jalalabad became a reality even for the Pakistani authorities, Benazir Bhutto, with tacit transatlantic approval, acted decisively and fired the hapless general, a move which was greeted favorably in Pakistan. "Benazir Bhutto deserves high praise for dismissing Hamid Gul from his post as director general of the hated ISI. This is a key act in cleansing Pakistan's political organism from the frightening legacy of Ziaul Haq," the PAKISTAN TIMES wrote.

But will Hamid Gul's exit be an incentive to revise and rethink Islamabad's aggressive course toward its north-western neighbor? The results of Benazir Bhutto's just-completed official visit to Washington and her talks there with President Bush could clarify this question to a tremendous extent. The initial statement made by the two countries' leaders seemed to inspire some hope of improvement, but it is deeds, not words, that count in the end. And they are as follows: The Americans are giving Pakistan 60 F-16 aircraft and Pakistan is continuing to carry out American policy regarding Afghanistan. This course inspires little optimism.

I sat down with Hasan Nair, deputy director general of BAKHTAR, in his sunny office. My interlocutor, a very intelligent journalist well versed in all the nuances of Western policy toward Afghanistan, was not in a very optimistic frame of mind:

"Yes," he said, "we have withstood the very difficult period since your soldiers left our country and demonstrated to everyone that the power of the Afghan Government is stable and that it will successfully counter all encroachments by the opposition. A process of rethinking the solution of the Afghan problem on the part of the West will inevitably begin. One thing bothers me, however: the fact that the United States, considering its objectives attained with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, has simply written everything else off, striking the establishment of peace in our country off its list of political priorities, and that means that the bloodshed will go on. The U.S. Congress will not permit a halt to the supply of weapons to the diehard opposition."

Yes, our Afghan friend's disquiet is understandable and logical. Having come a cropper over Jalalabad and Khowst, the Peshawar chieftains are now scurrying around in search of alternative ways of achieving that same end—the forcible overthrow of the legitimate Government of Afghanistan. They reject the very idea of starting equal talks with representatives of all belligerent parties on the future and the state system of Afghanistan, as offered by President Najibullah, who is certainly not acting from a position of weakness. In its place the well-wishers from the West try to palm off on them the concept of a military solution which boils down to the need to "stretch" government troops' forces by simultaneously intensifying combat operations at many points in Afghanistan, particularly around Qandahar, Khowst, Herat, and Ghazni. While not, of course, lifting the siege of Jalalabad. But they clearly lack the mettle to put this "new strategy" into effect.

That is how—through dollars and ISI coercion—the jihad, the holy war against the communists, is being waged. But it is obvious that this is the most that the fighters for Islamic purity are capable of now.

Problem of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan Viewed

*PM1506150989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jun 89 Second Edition p 6*

[Special PRAVDA and TASS correspondents V. Shurygin, Ye. Aleksandrov dispatch: "The Fate of the Refugees"]

[Excerpts] Islamabad—Afghan refugees. Their presence in Pakistan, especially in the West of the country, is immediately noticeable. Rows of mud shacks and old tents lining the road on the outskirts of Peshawar. Sellers of colorful carpets in the bazaar in Islamabad. You meet them in the streets, the markets, and trade centers.

It is difficult to say with any degree of accuracy how many of them there are in Pakistan. According to the United Nations there are more than 3 million. The Pakistanis estimate there are around 3.5 million.

In response to our request to be allowed to visit one of the Afghan refugee camps, we were told at the Pakistani Ministry of Information that this would be very difficult because it required the authorization of various departments, and so forth. In other words—a polite refusal. However, it is not difficult to meet refugees and talk to them in Islamabad, let alone Peshawar. [passage omitted]

Most Pakistanis sincerely want the refugees to go home. "They are a tremendous burden on the country," Rustam Shah Mohamad, Pakistani Government Chief Commissioner for Refugee Affairs, said. "For a considerable period now, the refugees have been occupying extensive areas of land without paying anything for it. Fields and meadows are being spoiled, woods are being cut down, the load on roads, bridges, and public utilities in cities has increased considerably."

"In the labor market," my interlocutor went on, "the refugees represent serious competition for the Pakistanis as they are willing to do any work for minimal wages. This has increased tension in the relations between the indigenous population in the western parts of Pakistan and the refugees from Afghanistan. Moreover the direct Pakistani expenditure for maintaining the refugees, which totals \$150-160 million per year, is not exactly a small outlay for an already strained state budget."

However, there are highly influential forces in Pakistan which are using the Afghan refugee problem in their political game. They are trying by might and main to bring to power in Afghanistan their placemen from among the "irreconcilable" leaders of the opposition, such as Hekmatyar, Khalis, and others. Spreading unlikely stories about the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan, they are trying to convince the refugees that their return home will be possible only after a Mujahidin victory. These circles would prefer an endless war in Afghanistan to the national reconciliation proposed by Kabul. Unfortunately, it is they who determine Islamabad's Afghan policy.

Afghan Refugees Continue To Return Home From Iran

*PM1506134989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 11*

[IZVESTIYA special correspondent A. Ivanko dispatch: "They Managed To Return"]

[Text] Herat-Moscow—Recently the number of Afghans returning to their country has been increasing, but the republic's government does not have enough means at its disposal to take all the refugees, Khalil Jalal, the Afghan deputy minister for returnees' affairs, said in an interview with CTK.

...Several days ago Ahsan Reza crossed the Iranian-Afghan border—under cover of darkness to avoid the Iranian border guard posts. He himself believes that he was lucky: Many of the returnees die on the way home. The rebels do not forgive "treachery"...

We met in Herat, in the refugees' affairs administration located in the former "Moufak" hotel. An energetic middle-aged man by the name of Mahmud Rahmatyan is in charge here.

[Rahmatyan] Our task is to receive refugees from Iran and give them material and financial aid. We assist people to get to their native areas, and we find out what happened to their homes. In accordance with the law, all lands and territories are being returned to their former owners.

[Ivanko] How many Afghan refugees are there in Iran, according to your figures?

[Rahmatyan] About 2 million, mainly Shi'ites. Some of them have managed to find work there, but many live in poverty. Now that the Soviet troops have left, the stream of returnees is increasing. Unfortunately, although our embassy in Tehran issues all the appropriate documents to the returnees, the Iranian authorities try to prevent their return in every possible way. [Rahmatyan ends]

...I asked Ahsan Reza about how his family lived in Iran. It turned out that they lived quite well: He got himself a job on a construction site, and he avoided the draft to serve on the Iran-Iraq front.

[Ivanko] Were many people sent?

[Reza] Of course, and they obeyed. Otherwise they would starve. People were also forced to go...

[Ivanko] Did the mujahidin try to recruit you?

[Reza] Yes, but each time I refused. [Reza ends]

So what in that case made my interlocutor return home? After all, the war which forced him to leave his home is continuing in the Afghan land.

[Reza] First I sent my son home. When he returned to Kabul, he went to serve in the Army and wrote me that the situation is getting back to normal and that it is possible to return. Now I too have seen for myself that the country has changed, but the main point is that the Soviet soldiers have left. [Reza ends]

Ahsan Reza is someone with the wisdom of age. But young people are also returning to Afghanistan. I managed to talk with two of them who were also living in the "Moufak" hotel. Ghulam Nabi, who is 24 years old, and Nur Muhammad, who is 19. Both went to Iran several years ago.

[Nabi] The mujahidin offered me money if I would fight against the authorities, but I would not do that. I had to refuse and somehow make ends meet myself. The things I saw! Prisons full of Afghans—they are there for drug trafficking, for refusing to do military service, and for theft, to which they were driven by need.

[Ivanko] Did you get material assistance from the Afghan Government?

[Nabi] Yes, but I would have returned even if I had been given nothing. I am back home.

[Ivanko] What is your attitude to the Soviet Union?

[Nabi] If you will be our country's friend, then I am your friend. But if you come to Afghanistan with weapons, then you will meet me as an enemy. [Nabi ends]

Nur Muhammad agreed with his comrade. He too speaks ill of life in Iran. Evidently, he was worn out in a foreign land.

The former hotel was half full. The rooms, of course, are not noted for their luxury. In each there are eight people in bunk beds. When I entered one of them, several of the guests were praying...

The refugee problem is one of Afghanistan's most acute problems. Millions of Afghans in Iran and Pakistan live in the most difficult conditions. They are used by the rebels as "cannon fodder" and used to swell the extremists' ranks. Realizing the senselessness of the opposition's calls for a "holy war," many of the refugees are returning home. And their number is growing day by day.

CPSU Greets Indian Communist's Namboodiripad
PM1506140189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Jun 89 Second Edition p 2

[CPSU Central Committee greetings message to Indian Communist Party (Marxist) leader E.M.S. Namboodiripad]

[Text] To Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad, general secretary of the Indian Communist Party (Marxist) Central Committee

Dear Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad:

Please accept our most sincere congratulations on your birthday.

Your long life reflects the whole historical process of the national liberation struggle and the workers movement in one of the world's greatest countries.

We wish you, a prominent Indian politician and friend of our people, good health and success in your responsible post.

With fraternal greetings,

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee

Yemen Armed Forces Political Workers End Visit
PM1506102589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 13 Jun 89 Single Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Visit Over"]

[Text] A delegation of leading political workers of the armed forces of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY] headed by Lieutenant Colonel Husayn 'Ali Hasan, chief of the PDRY Armed Forces Political Directorate, visited the Soviet Union 9 through 12 June at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The delegation members familiarized themselves with experience of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate's work in organizing party political work in the Soviet Armed Forces and visited the V.I. Lenin Military-Political Academy, where they were given an opportunity to meet with the academy's leadership and with Yemeni servicemen and also to familiarize themselves with the training process and the training materials base.

The delegation visited the Taman Division and went to see a number of its units and subunits. There were talks in the division's political department and meetings with officers and soldiers of this unit.

During the visit the delegation laid wreaths at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior by the Kremlin wall.

The delegation of PDRY Armed Forces political workers was received by Colonel General V.S. Nechayev, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. During the talks there was an exchange of opinions on a number of issues of interest to both sides.

East Europe

'Inconsistency' Seen in Hungary's Nagy Regime
LD1606191889 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 16 Jun 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] In the name of national reconciliation, here is a report from Budapest:

[Correspondent Ye. Shirokov, identified by screen caption] Heroes Square. Always festive, welcoming, thronged with crowds of tourists from all corners of the world. Today it is in funeral garb. Thousands upon thousands of people have come here to take part in a solemn act: the reinterment of the remains of Imre Nagy, former leader of the Hungarian Government who was sentenced to death by a court after the famous Hungarian events of 1956.

This humane step taken by the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic which, at the request of the families of Imre Nagy and his followers, granted permission for the remains of their relatives—originally interred in unmarked graves—to be given a decent burial has profound political meaning and is in the spirit of national reconciliation. This is what the plenum of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee called for at the end of May.

Tribute is being paid to the memory of people who paid an unjustifiably high price for their actions and errors. And at the same time, across one-third of a century, a more profound interpretation is being made of everything that happened in this country, which at that time was plucked from a state of stability and hurled into bloody and fratricidal strife.

The personality of Imre Nagy, that prominent Hungarian politician, is contradictory. His actions at the height of those ordeals—so terrible for the nation—were marked by vacillation. He turned down a suggestion that the armed demonstrations of October 1956 should be declared a revolution, and later he was to call this uprising a revolutionary democratic movement. Because of the leadership's inconsistency, the forces loyal to the popular democratic regime proved to be disorganized; the regime collapsed and chaos mounted. Amid all of this, Imre Nagy and his supporters adopted a stand that ran counter to that of the newly formed provisional revolutionary government of the workers and peasants.

In 1958, at a closed trial, a harsh sentence that was patently political was passed on Imre Nagy and his closest comrades. Now this sentence is being reviewed. This must be seen in the overall context of democratization, of the political transformations that are taking place in Hungary. Today has been declared a Day of National Mourning in the country. Quite apart from the authorities, the diplomatic representatives of other states, and people from the capital, towns, and villages there are Hungarian emigres from capitalist countries present on the square. These include some who, in the armed struggle, were on the opposite side of the barricades. It will be a fresh shock, says an MSZMP statement, if the funeral of Imre Nagy spills over into events that split the nation. This historic act should be a symbol of national reconciliation.

However, there are forces that would, in this situation, like to scatter hate- and lie-contaminated seeds of mistrust, and to inflame passions.

Evidence of this was the demonstration yesterday evening outside the Soviet Embassy in Budapest by unofficial youth organizations. About 200 opponents of socialism chanted slogans that were offensive to our country. They issued demands for the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and for the country's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, and they appealed to Western patrons to help them free themselves

from the occupationists. What was this? Delusion? A lack of understanding of what this could lead to? Irresponsibility? Yes, all three. There are precious few people in whom enthusiasts such as these will find sympathy. [video shows Shirokov on Heroes Square; the funeral ceremony; throngs of people, some with black-bordered "In Memoriam" flags; copy of special edition of NEPSZ-ABADSAG newspaper; some of yesterday's demonstrators outside the Soviet Embassy holding candles and chanting. Camera focuses on banner in Hungarian]

Poland's Walesa on Support for Restructuring
LD1606214489 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1900 GMT 16 Jun 89

[From the "View" program presented by V. Listev]

[Text] [Listev] Vitaliy Belyakov, a member of the youth affairs editoria. staff, met Solidarity leader Lech Walesa in Poland and asked him what he thinks of the restructuring processes in the USSR. [Video shows Walesa talking to reporter in Polish]

Your country is a great power, while our country is a medium-sized state. This makes a difference, said Lech Walesa. It goes without saying that both you and we must definitely conduct reforms, but our approaches are different. In this connection, of course, I am too small to propose plans of my own for a superpower. I would very much like to wish you good fortune and success, since these changes are vitally essential. They definitely must be seen through, because we are threatened with revolution. A people that sees the results of other social systems will demand this, and it now has to be done calmly. It must all happen without falling under the influence of emotions. If you ask me, I would tell you honestly that I am in favor of these reforms, said Lech Walesa.

Maslyukov, Poland's Sekula Discuss Relations
LD1406040689 Warsaw PAP in English 2226 GMT
13 Jun 89

[By PAP correspondent Jerzy Malczyk]

[Text] Moscow, June 13—Polish Vice-Premier Ireneusz Sekula paid a working visit here June 12-13, during which he had talks with first deputy chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers and chairman of the Soviet State Planning Committee Yuriy Maslyukov.

Both sides positively sized up the state of Polish-Soviet economic, scientific, and technical relations. They discussed also problems of the shaping of Polish-Soviet cooperation in 1991-1995. They paid special attention to mutual supplies of fuels and raw materials necessary for the functioning of Polish and Soviet economies.

Asked to comment on his Moscow talks, vice-premier Sekula said: The visit aimed to speed up the process of coordinating plans for 1991-1995. It is obvious that in

case of very close economic cooperation of both our countries it is necessary to coordinate the supplies of raw materials, fuels and other strategic elements occurring in mutual trade.

The talks were difficult and the structure of our trade, that shaped many years ago, is very specific. Raw materials and fuels account for 70 per cent of Polish imports from the USSR. Polish raw materials account for 30 per cent of Soviet imports. Our partner would like to change this structure. In the future, this can be very beneficial for Poland. However, this will be so, provided that the Polish industry adjusts itself to the conditions of the Soviet market.

Poland's debt to the USSR is a great problem and we presented a postulate to reschedule the repayment of this debt, which had risen over the previous years, to the period after 1995. The soviet side showed great understanding of this wish and a decision on this question should be made in the coming days. The odds are that this will be a positive decision, Sekula said.

Yefimov Receives Polish Air Force Commander
PM1406153189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 14 Jun 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] On 12 June, Division General Tytus Krawczyk, commander of the Polish air forces, paid an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, commander in chief of the air forces and USSR deputy defense minister.

The guest was greeted at Sheremetyevo Airport by Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov and other generals and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The welcoming party included Brigade General A. Czernow, army, navy, and air attache at the Polish Embassy in the USSR.

Anniversary of Soviet-Romanian Ties Noted
PM1406080389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Jun 89 Second Edition p 6

["Own Information" report: "On a Firm Foundation"]

[Text] The Soviet and Romanian publics are commemorating an important date—55 years ago diplomatic relations were established between the two countries. Reactionary circles in Romania gave the normalization of relations a "hostile" reception but the Communist Party, operating in deeply clandestine conditions, stated: "The Soviet Government's resolute and consistent peace policy has scored yet another victory in the international arena."

The new stage in Soviet-Romanian relations was inaugurated by the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution in Romania in August 1944. Now relations with socialist Romania are built on a firm basis of equality and respect of sovereignty, mutual benefit, international solidarity, and responsibility to their countries' working people. The USSR and Romania cooperate in the solution of the fundamental tasks of socialism and the raising of people's living standards. They take an active part in elaborating and implementing the socialist community countries' dynamic and resourceful foreign policy and make a vigorous contribution to the affirmation of the new political thinking and of disarmament.

West Europe

Further Reportage on Gorbachev's FRG Visit

PRAVDA Reports 15 Jun News Conference
PM1606152189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Jun 89 Second Edition pp 2-3

[Unattributed report: "M.S. Gorbachev Press Conference in Bonn"; earlier reportage on this news conference appeared on pages 18-21 of the 16 June Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

[Text] Before leaving Bonn on 15 June, M.S. Gorbachev held a news conference. In his opening address he said:

Esteemed ladies, gentlemen, and comrades! Welcome! Our visit is coming to an end, although there is still an interesting trip ahead and meetings and conversations in Dortmund and Duesseldorf. Nevertheless, it is possible to talk about the results of the visit even now and to try to give initial assessments of this event, which we consider a major one not only in our bilateral relations but also within the framework of European politics and world politics as a whole.

We view the results of the visit as significant. It has shown the great potential of Soviet-West German collaboration in the interests of both peoples, Europe, and other countries.

First of all I should like to thank the Federal Government, the authorities in Bonn and Stuttgart, and the inhabitants of those cities for the cordiality and hospitality which they have shown me and all the Soviet comrades taking part in this visit. We have felt warmth and sympathy toward our people. That has pleased us very much. I shall come back to that.

Undoubtedly the talks with the FRG leadership were at the center of attention. The frank and thorough exchange of opinions with President von Weizsaecker, with Federal Chancellor Kohl, with whom I had three one-on-one conversations, and with other political and social figures and representatives of the business world—all these meetings and conversations have given us a lot of new information for understanding the FRG, its policy and

aspirations. There have been many important and useful meetings during the past few days for other delegation members. That has broadened the scope of the visit and given it a truly unique character. We rated highly the contacts and discussions held both before and during the visit between representatives of our public and their FRG counterparts. I have in mind scientists, journalists, and other representatives of our intelligentsia.

All this enables me to say that these days have truly been filled with great and important joint reflections on the present and the future. And I should particularly like to reemphasize that, although brief, the direct and lively contact with FRG citizens has convinced us that changes in views and attitudes toward one another are happening not only among our people. They are happening here, too. And perhaps we are now right to say that our two peoples are moving toward one another, rapprochement is taking place, and cooperation plans are being thought about. And that, in itself, is perhaps the main thing that is worth stating today and which to a considerable extent will determine the future and influence the activity of both countries' governments.

All this together indicates that through great, difficult, and patient work we have jointly managed to arrive at new relations and really begun to turn the pages of a major and interesting chapter in our contemporary history. Particularly great work in this regard was done after the first summit in Moscow last fall. Its main result was the joint statement. It demonstrates that we have a new concept and a new quality of relations, it demonstrates a readiness to fill them with real and modern content.

I think that this unique political document will interest you. Because the fact is that it has been signed by two countries which play a significant role in world affairs. The statement also reflected the fact that the two countries have taken a responsible approach to the evaluation of the past, which has known both good times and tragedies. The document, I would say, is a new contribution to relations between two major European states with such a difficult history.

The statement marked the guidelines of mutually beneficial and multifarious cooperation for the future in the context of the contemporary processes in Europe and the world. We sought here to define the paths for progress without ambitions regarding the international role of our bilateral relations but also without false modesty—in brief, from positions of political realism, in the light of other countries' interests and of common security, and in the expectation of a peaceful future for all.

I think that I can say with justification that the new thinking has been adequately expressed in this document. We have learned how to think along the same political lines while preserving the differences in world outlook but not ignoring the divergences on a number of major questions which still need to be resolved.

In addition to the joint statement, which is crucial for the new level of relations, other important agreements have also been signed. I am afraid of being wrong here, so I won't say what the total number of them is. I think that there are 12, a dozen. Together they form a package enabling bold actions to be taken in many areas of Soviet-West German ties.

Security problems occupied an important place in the talks and conversations, of course. The link between our countries' destinies and their joint responsibility at a European and global level are particularly evident here. For our part we restated our principled approach carefully, scrupulously, and specifically. Namely: We support the elimination of the dangerous military confrontation in Europe, we support the strengthening of trust, the radical reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments to a level which precludes offensive actions, and the reduction and complete elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons. This also determines our assessment of the NATO Council's Brussels declaration.

I explained that to the president of the FRG and to the chancellor—in more detailed form. This has been said publicly, too. Here I shall confine myself merely to a remark of the most principled kind. We, of course, see in this document a number of concrete and major aspects, some of which are constructive. This permits the hope for and expectation of mutually acceptable solutions at the Vienna talks. But it would be dishonest both to our partners in the talks and to you, representatives of the press, if I did not make another point. The declaration is to a considerable extent enmeshed in the old philosophy, the philosophy of the cold war, albeit in places in a new wrapper, a new form of words. But it also contains a gamble on deterrence based on nuclear weapons, a gamble on force, and so on. That is why I would say that we saw no great breakthrough in the Brussels document. And I say that with regret. Especially since it appeared at a new stage of international development and in the atmosphere of the positive processes that are taking place in the world, when a stable trend toward mutual understanding is taking shape. And that is welcomed both by politicians, the broad public circles, and the peoples. I felt it necessary to say that to you frankly.

Coming back to the visit, I would say that it has made it possible to thoroughly examine the situation in our bilateral economic relations, to clarify many problems, and to put many questions to one another directly and frankly. Summarizing the businesslike and quite objective discussions on this score, I can say that great opportunities are appearing not only for making economic ties more dynamic but also for embarking in new directions, particularly with regard to the scientific and technical aspects of cooperation. The ideas which I expressed on this during the meetings with FRG businessmen have aroused great interest. I and the comrades taking part in this section with me take note of the seriousness of that interest. That is heartening. I must say that in this regard the visit to Stuttgart made a great

impression on us. The important and large-scale meeting with business circles in Cologne will also be a memorable event, I think. In any event, the broad exchange of opinions relating to specific problems and specific projects for economic cooperation was very useful, especially since there has been a definite slowing down in the process of our economic ties recently.

I must mention my meeting in the Bundestag with Mrs Rita Suessmuth. We agreed on the stepping up of parliamentary exchanges which now have all the preconditions for becoming a truly effective and important element in Soviet-West German relations.

Of course, the new Soviet-West German summit has left questions to which we could not find solutions. But we agreed to continue the discussion and dialogue on all the questions raised both with the chancellor and with other FRG figures. We agreed to maintain contact—broad, constant, and regular contact—at all levels, including the very highest. In that regard I should like to stress that the present visit consolidates and raises to a higher level the personal contact with Chancellor Helmut Kohl. I attach great significance to the good personal relations that have been established with FRG statesmen. This makes it possible to discuss virtually any questions frankly and to compare views, viewpoints, and arguments. I think that it is also important to note this as one of the visit's results.

Now that the visit is ending, we may say that we have firmly embarked on the path of joint work, a path of regular and systematic cooperation, and will improve the mechanism of contact which has partially appeared and which has shown its role, a good and useful role, particularly over the last year.

Now for the most important thing—the implementation of the accords that have been reached, the political approaches agreed, and the documents signed. Policy should be followed by concrete action. We are ready for that. And, it appears, the West German is ready, too. I mean here the leadership, businessmen, and public circles.

I am convinced that all that we have done these past few days in Bonn and everything we managed to do together with our West German partners meets the needs of European and world development. I want to emphasize this once more. Good-neighborly relations between the USSR and the FRG threaten no one and can harm no one. In no way do they affect the commitment to or membership of the corresponding alliances. I am sure that the improvement of Soviet-West German relations will serve the cause of peace throughout the world and contribute healthy, constructive, and, I would say, encouraging aspects to international relations.

We could not, of course, fail to notice the tremendous and sincere interest being shown here in our restructuring, both by politicians and businessmen and by the

intelligentsia and working people in general. Interlocutors holding various views did not hide from us their concern about the success of restructuring, too. Almost everywhere we were asked the question: Will we cope, bearing in mind the great scale and vastness of the work on the path of restructuring? We spoke a great deal with our interlocutors in reply to those questions. I should like to note the most important thing here: We will go forward, we are determined. But we shall act in a balanced, realistic, and consistent way, moving one step at a time toward our set goals. We cannot turn back. There may be difficult moments. There may also be painful developments. There is probably much to endure. But now we are more confident of our strength and potential than ever before. Our confidence was increased particularly by the recently concluded Congress of People's Deputies, from which we came straight here to you. At the congress the people's representatives unambiguously and firmly advocated the continuation of restructuring.

As for the attitude to restructuring here, I must say that we are pleased by the interest in its success that we have sensed here—both from politicians and from ordinary citizens. Once again this convinces us that what we have begun in our country—which was dictated primarily by our own interests and needs—is of great positive international significance and is important for all, for world progress, and for strengthening peace and universal security. We feel all the more responsibility in that regard as we tackle the problems which we must resolve during these years. We shall always remember that responsibility and our duty to the world community.

Finally: For a number of months before the visit and during the days of the visit itself I have received hundreds of greetings, wishes, and invitations from FRG citizens. I have managed to answer some people, others have been informed via our embassy that their letters have been received and read. But of course it is difficult, impossible, to answer all communications. I am taking advantage of this press conference to express my gratitude to all those who frankly and sincerely shared their thoughts and hopes with me and wished this visit success. And I want to say to all of them that we can rejoice together at the fact that this visit has been really successful and that afterward our relations will acquire the character of greater cooperation, greater trust, and greater mutual understanding. Generally speaking, I think that our Soviet people and West German citizens have not been disappointed in the expectations which they had of the visit.

Once again I thank all the citizens of the FRG for their hospitality toward the representatives of the Soviet people.

[Correspondent] Mr President, you said when speaking here in Bonn 2 days ago that the time had come for parallel talks with the Americans on the question of tactical nuclear missiles. Mr Bush has stated that he is ready to discuss this question after an agreement on

conventional weapons and armed forces. I would like to ask you what levers you have to bring the Americans to the negotiating table one minute earlier than they wish; or do you consider that you will simply have to wait until they set a schedule?

[Gorbachev] Today neither we nor the Americans set the schedule. I think that the kind of schedule which includes parallel talks on tactical nuclear weapons is dictated by the very progress of the processes taking place in Europe and the world. It is determined not just by the mood—about which one can already speak frankly—of certain circles but by the mood of the peoples of Europe. And this, I think, should be taken into account in both the Soviet Union and the United States.

[Correspondent] Do you consider it possible that it may come about one day in both German states that European identity and community could be enshrined in a single document?

[Gorbachev] I allow for everything. But time has bequeathed this world to us after well-known events, after the war. And time itself will determine the future.

(Because of the absence of a translation the answer was repeated) The point of my answer to your question is that the present situation in Europe was generated by a certain time. These are the realities. And the Helsinki and other processes are developing on their basis. Thus we owe the situation which we have to a certain time. And we hope that time will itself decide, will deal with things itself. Today we note with satisfaction and welcome the fact that there is an understanding in both the FRG and the GDR of the need to do everything possible—and it is being done—to ensure that a war never again begins on German soil.

[Correspondent] I am Evelen Vaydevets [name as transliterated]. The most important element in the agreement on protecting investments which you signed here is the freedom to transfer capital and profits. Do you intend to sign a similar agreement with other countries, in particular, the United States? Your visit to Bonn has been very successful. When, then, will you be coming to Washington for a summit meeting with President Bush?

[Gorbachev] I can answer your question this way: We favor the broad development of economic ties with all countries and, of course, not least with the United States. And we are ready to discuss questions which would help make ties with the United States more dynamic and in the process resolve the problem of protecting capital investments.

As for your second question... The level and nature of relations between the USSR and America today should include—and, in my opinion, there is appreciation of

this on both our part and that of President Bush's administration—regular exchange at all levels, including summit level. That is how it should be. As for the time, that is just a detail.

[Correspondent] Many West Germans consider that the Berlin Wall is both a physical and political barrier to the rapprochement, the complete rapprochement of your two countries. Do you think that the common European home which you seek is possible while the Berlin Wall continues to exist?

[Gorbachev] It would be lacking in seriousness to reduce the matter to saying that the Berlin Wall is the sole obstacle to building the European home. We will need to solve many problems when building the European home in the interests of all the peoples, respecting while so doing their choice, traditions, and history and creating conditions for equitable, mutually beneficial cooperation. There is nothing eternal under the sun. Let us hope that we are on the right path. The wall appeared in a specific situation and was not dictated by some kind of evil design. The GDR legitimately decided to exercise its sovereign rights. The wall can only disappear when the preconditions which gave rise to it vanish. I do not see a big problem here.

[Correspondent] The joint statement which you signed with Chancellor Kohl says that the United States and Canada have the right to a place in the common European home. Could you explain more specifically what you have in mind, and also whether it is preferable from the Soviet standpoint for U.S. troops to stay in Europe or leave?

[Gorbachev] The first thing that I want to say in response is the following: I—and in this case I mean the Soviet leadership—cannot conceive of a realistic policy which aimed at somehow encroaching on U.S. interests. That would not be serious. It would be a retreat from the principle of realism, harsh realism, to which we are firmly committed. It is this realistic assessment of the world situation that has brought us to this new way of thinking. And it is within its framework that we have also assessed the importance and role of Soviet-American relations and the role of America in today's world. I think that there is an understanding of that role in both the West and the East, and we deemed it possible once again to note this in our joint statement with the FRG. That is the first thing.

It stems from this that the building of the common European home presupposes the active participation of the United States and Canada. Their involvement in European affairs over entire decades has created the prerequisites for their participation—constructive and productive participation—at the new stage of the European process.

As for U.S. armed forces in Europe, I would ask you to look at this problem in its overall context. It is, of course, difficult for us to hope to be able to build a lasting home that suits everyone, a common European home, unless we really set about decisively reducing the military confrontation that is most potent here, in Europe. We have therefore embarked on this path. And I welcome this. We will act in a responsible and constructive way. I think that the Vienna talks offer very encouraging prospects.

I would not like to go into details now, although you did ask me to do so. It is in the details that divergences have arisen. But in principle we have been right to raise the question of the reduction and the presence of foreign troops, and undoubtedly this process will proceed and should result logically in there being no foreign troops on others' territory. So I would look at this seriously and tackle it responsibly. Not in order to score points—thank God, we are gradually putting an end to that approach. We have increasingly begun to concern ourselves with realistic policy. And that policy, as you can see, brings results.

[Correspondent] Mr Gorbachev, I am from Maulwurf. What would you like to say specially to young FRG citizens?

[Gorbachev] I would urge the young people of our two countries to actively involve themselves in the process of straightening things out and bringing about the rapprochement of our people so that they may carry on further the baton of cooperation and trust. That, in my opinion, is the greatest common wish of us adults.

[Correspondent] Like some congress deputies, I consider that you damaged your reputation as a sensitive and progressive person when you proposed to the congress that it take a different line [merit takoy merkoy] from the foreign statements on the dreadful events in China. Do you think that the students, workers, and other citizens of Beijing who protested and advocated democracy were counterrevolutionaries? And, second, do you consider that the Chinese Government acted justifiably in using weapons against peaceful demonstrators?

[Gorbachev] To answer you I will add to what I said in Beijing and what we said at the congress. In Beijing I advocated dialogue as a means of resolving, defusing, and reducing the acuteness of the events which had already then, at that time, taken place in China—events which, unfortunately, subsequently became exacerbated. I think that we do not yet know everything. I have sensed that the FRG Government here does not possess complete information on this score either. Therefore we should in particular show very great responsibility and consideration in our judgments.

It seems to me that we are all very disturbed by what is happening in China. We are all anxious that the process of profound reforms and transformations in that great state should not miscarry. I think that we all appreciate

that this has done enormous damage to the whole process of improvement in the world. And therefore, however we perceive what is happening there, it is important—and we do want this—that the Chinese people and their government should find a solution which meets the interests of the Chinese people themselves and our common expectations. This and this alone has dictated our well-considered, responsible, and serious stance. Although it does not exclude our regretting how events then turned out.

To say whether these events are counterrevolutionary or not you need first to examine them very carefully. In Beijing I received a letter from students. It contained much of interest, the students welcomed the visit, they welcomed cooperation and the improvement of our relations. They spoke in favor of the reforms and in point of fact proclaimed the same goals as the CPC. I cannot suspect them of any insidious designs. Here I am talking about those who sent the letter.

But perhaps there are such elements, too, as the Chinese Government reports and statements have said—some people who were intent on exploiting the situation and the real processes which led to the tension in the country. It is necessary, I repeat, for all this to be carefully examined.

A little knowledge or even rumor may suffice for reporting. A political statement, particularly on such very major questions of world politics, requires very great knowledge and responsibility. [Gorbachev ends]

Question from correspondent from Czechoslovakia: Mr President...

[Gorbachev] Why are you calling me "Mr"?

[Correspondent] That's what they're calling you in the FRG.... Well, never mind.... Comrade Mr President. I am a press representative from a country which alone in Europe has a common border with the Soviet Union, the FRG, and the GDR, although that is not the only reason we are following your visit with great interest. But I want to ask when the European home will be built, what place will be assigned in it for small countries like Czechoslovakia, and where we will live—in the basement or on the second floor?

[Gorbachev] I think that you will continue to live where you are living now. I love your country. We do not need an all-European home of the kind which deprives people of what they had without it. On the contrary, it should add to what people and the peoples already have today. And a common European home cannot be built without their consent. It should not be such that everyone feels worse than they do today. On the contrary. That is why I am thinking of our common European destiny with optimism, with confidence, with great confidence.

[Question from Soviet television] On which salient of Soviet-West German relations would you like to see the most rapid headway? And a second question: We have all seen the enthusiasm with which you have been greeted here literally wherever the Soviet guests appeared. Before you arrived in the FRG, did you expect the visit would proceed in this atmosphere, and how do you explain it?

[Gorbachev] Difficult questions, although they seem quite simple. You know, I should like our cooperation to assume dynamism on all salients, while, of course, economic cooperation problems remain urgent. And I feel that there is a lag here compared with the level and activeness of political dialogue.

Of course, we are in favor of active political dialogue with the government of this major country. And I think we would be failing to justify our peoples' hopes if we did not reveal the broad opportunity for exchanges—exchanges among young people, tourist exchanges, exchanges among the broad public, and so forth. So I would welcome—and this must be done now—greater dynamism on all salients. Nonetheless today we must engage more thoroughly in the question of economic relations. There is much here that has not been worked through, a certain amount of adaptation, a certain organic character is needed here. And we must work on that.

And the second question: Did we expect the kind of atmosphere in which the visit is taking place?

Of course, I receive information—I hardly need to say that—and I knew that there was great interest in this country in restructuring and in our policy. I think that this is based on the changes in the Soviet Union. That is the first and main thing. And the second, no less important thing. Throughout the world people want changes for the better. They have grown tired of the "cold war," and so many global problems now loom over them. They want changes, because through the new thinking we are seeking approaches to reaching the solution of the problems which perturb the peoples and that, I think, explains the interest in us, the good will toward the delegation, toward the visit, which was manifested so vividly.

There is also the following point. After all, our two peoples have a special, unique destiny, their history is very powerfully interwoven, there are pages of long-standing cooperation in it and many affinities, but there are also tragedies. And people, particularly the older generation, who have lived through these tragedies want while they are still alive to turn relations into a channel making it possible to take all that is best from the history of our relations and to draw lessons from the tragedies and pass on the wisdom and conclusions derived from them to new generations entering life. I think that is also present.

[Correspondent] Mr President, 2 months ago you made an extremely successful visit to London, although 5 weeks later Mrs Thatcher expelled 11 of your diplomats and 3 journalists for so-called espionage. Are you sure that this successful visit will not end the same way?

[Gorbachev] First, I am one of those people who do not start panicking at a particular event, at eccentric instances like this. I do not think this will destroy what has been done in recent years in Soviet-British relations. We reacted adequately, perhaps we even "developed" Mrs Thatcher's initiative somewhat. Nonetheless I want to say publicly to the press and the whole world that we treasure relations with Britain and we are prepared to cooperate with its people. And I want to take advantage of your question and thank the British and their government for the way they responded in rendering us assistance in connection with the rail catastrophe. Your most experienced doctors are taking part in rendering aid. We have received very important medical equipment from Britain. All this also confirms what I said. There are more valuable things than mutual suspicions of espionage. I think that all of you here could be reckoned to be spies, since no one gives more information than you. As the wise man said: This, too, will pass.

[Correspondent] Foreign Minister Genscher told me yesterday that he considers the "cold war" to have ended. Many people in the FRG and the United States think the same and that therefore there is no longer any military threat from the USSR. Do you believe that perhaps, despite a few old formulations in the NATO document, the "cold war" has ended and that the Soviet Union, too, feels no military threat from the West?

[Gorbachev] I think we have emerged from the "cold war" period, although there are still frosts and drafts. They are still there. But in my opinion that is natural for the time being. It seems to me that there is already a profound understanding in the world of the fact that we must proceed by a different path, taking into account the world's interconnectedness and interdependence, the imperatives of the present day, and the new realities which no one can ignore. We are simply destined for a new stage in the development of international relations. I call it the peaceful period.

I thank you for your attention and cooperation; I always value it greatly. Goodbye. (Applause).

Comparison of Gorbachev's Hoescht Speech *PM1606201189*

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 17 June 1989 publishes in its First Edition on page 3 a TASS report on Gorbachev's speech to Hoescht workers. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, entitled "Meeting With Metal Workers at the Hoescht Plant in Dortmund" with the translation of the Moscow Domestic Russian version published on pages 23-24 of the 16 June Soviet Union DAILY REPORT reveals the following variations:

Page 23, column two, penultimate paragraph, first sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: Bonn, 16 Jun—As reported earlier, during the visit to the FRG a meeting was held at the "Hoescht Westfalenhuette" plant between M.S. Gorbachev and the labor force and members of production councils from metallurgical enterprises in the Ruhr. Addressing the meeting, M.S. Gorbachev said:

Dear friends, my... (supplying different introductory paragraph);

page 24, column one, paragraph three, last sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...worker will be paramount and this is... (retranslating);

column two, first paragraph, first sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...respect, and trust in each other. [applause]. The road to... (adding "in each other");

paragraph two, sentence two of the PRAVDA version reads: ...the political parties and movements of your... (correcting typo);

paragraph three, last sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...a better world. That is the main thing. [applause]

Dear friends during... (supplying additional sentence at end of paragraph three);

last paragraph, only sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...of the FRG. [stormy, prolonged applause] (supplying applause notation).

Comparison of Gorbachev-Mies Meeting *PM1606154589*

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 16 June 1989 publishes in its Second Edition on page 2 a TASS report on Gorbachev's meeting with German Communist Party leader Herbert Mies. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, entitled "Meeting with H. Mies" with the Moscow TASS English version published on page 26 of the 16 June Soviet Union DAILY REPORT—minus the dateline—reveals the following variations:

Column one, last paragraph, sole sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ... German Communist Party [DKP] in Bonn on 14 June.

The sides were... (supplying date and place);

column two, first paragraph, first sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...in the development and deepening of relations between... (adding "and deepening");

first paragraph, sentence two of the PRAVDA version reads: ...the Soviet Union, H. Mies noted.

New opportunities and conditions for filling the new chapter in relations between the two countries' peoples more quickly have appeared. M.S. Gorbachev said... (adding passage, clearing indistinct words).

Gorbachev, Spaeth Meet 14 Jun

PM1606115989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Jun 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev's Talk With L. Spaeth"]

[Text] On 14 June in Stuttgart M.S. Gorbachev had a talk with Baden-Wuerttemberg Land Prime Minister Lothar Spaeth. It was a talk between politicians who are already quite well acquainted. That is why there was no need to discuss in general the expediency and usefulness of Soviet-Baden-Wuerttemberg ties, which have already produced quite good practical results.

The talk took place on the common understanding that were it not for the profound changes in both countries and above all the restructuring in the Soviet Union, there would not have been such headway in the diverse and substantive, productive relations between the USSR and Baden-Wuerttemberg—the most technically advanced and dynamic land of the FRG. In turn the enterprising, bold, resourceful policy of that land's leadership and its business and scientific circles has made a considerable contribution to the development of Soviet-West German relations.

There was a very specific talk about models for shaping effective economic collaboration and about the need for a thorough study of management methods, markets, the features of the functioning of industry, and its ties with science.

L. Spaeth made a scrupulous analysis of the experience of the successful development of production in Baden-Wuerttemberg, especially in small and medium firms, on the basis of sophisticated scientific and technical achievements.

Taking part in the talk were E.A. Shevardnadze, A.N. Yakovlev, and other people accompanying M.S. Gorbachev and ministers of the government of Baden-Wuerttemberg; Ambassadors Yu.A. Kvitsinskiy and A. Meyer-Landrut were present.

Gorbachev Comments on Uzbekistan

LD1306150589 Hamburg DPA in German 1437 GMT
13 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—The Soviet head of state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev is blaming Islamic fundamentalists for the unrest in Uzbekistan. Before his meeting with Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher Gorbachev was asked in the Soviet Embassy about the unrest.

He refused to give a detailed assessment as he has not yet received the report from Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzkhov from the crisis area, Gorbachev said. However, he can say this much, the Kremlin leader added, that it was not a minority problem but "that fundamentalism is showing its teeth there."

FRG Communist Party Holds 'Festival' Over Visit

LD1406053889 Moscow TASS in English 0519 GMT
14 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn June 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Samozhnev:

A festival, "The hopes and Mikhail Gorbachev's visit" has been held in the capital of the Federal Republic of Germany. Representatives of a number of district party organisations, local public and numerous civilian initiative groups participated in the festival, sponsored by the German Communist Party.

A speech of greetings was made by chairman of the German Communist Party Herbert Mies. He expressed confidence that the visit of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev would help build up confidence between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union. The visit will turn a new page in mutual relations between the two countries. Nuclear warheads, missile launch pads and anti-communist notions do not promote better mutual understanding, Mies stressed.

Mies criticised the West German Government's stand on short-range nuclear missiles, which excludes full elimination of that class of nuclear armaments, and its striving to continue increasing the military budget. A merge of two biggest concerns—Deimler-Benz and Messerschmitt-Boelkow Blohm—will lead to formation of one of the world's largest arms manufacturing concerns, Mies stressed.

Christoph Stresser, a representative of the Krefeld initiative group, said that the West German Government would justify the hopes of broad strata of the population if it constructively approached Soviet proposals on disarmament. The ruling coalition parties should make their own initiatives in that area, he stressed.

Member of the CPSU Central Committee Natalya Gellert participated in the German Communist Party festival. She reminded those present about the USSR's proposal on universal and full elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

Music companies from West Germany and the Soviet Union were warmly greeted at the festival.

FRG Officials Outline Results of Gorbachev Visit

Kohl Reports to Bundestag

LD1606152389 Moscow TASS in English 1456 GMT
16 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn June 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Lev Volnukhin and Vladimir Serov:

FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl today delivered in the Bundestag a government statement on the results of an official visit to the FRG by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"This visit has been a major success on the road to achieve three goals that have been formulated jointly during our last year's meeting in Moscow," the chancellor said. "First, this is the development of relations with the Soviet Union, our biggest and most important neighbour in the East, relations of cardinal importance to us, second, the widening of foundation of confidence between our two states and governments and creation of relations of durable goodneighbourliness and, third, reconciliation of our peoples".

Welcoming Gorbachev's statement about the need to draw the line under the post-war period, Kohl appraised this as the manifestation of the Soviet Union's political will to end confrontation in East-West relations and to be building the future on the basis of a dialogue and cooperation. "I wholly subscribe to this goal", Kohl added.

The chancellor described the joint statement signed by the leaders of the two countries as the visit's most important result. "This is a document whose importance goes far beyond the framework of mutual relations", Kohl said. "This is a political programme which we intend to be implementing step by step in the years ahead. In the statement we declare jointly for the principles which determine peaceful coexistence of countries and peoples. The individual with his dignity and rights and the care for the survival of humanity must be central to politics. It is necessary to avert any war—nuclear and conventional, and to ensure peace. The right of all peoples and states to freely determine their destiny and build relations with each other in a sovereign way on the basis of international law must be guaranteed."

"The treaty basis of our relations is widened considerably also by eleven inter-governmental agreements signed in Bonn. They are also a political sign of the readiness of both countries for broad cooperation in every area", Kohl went on to say.

Dwelling on historic changes in the Soviet Union and in other Warsaw Treaty countries, the chancellor emphasized that the West welcomes them as they open the road to peace in Europe and everywhere in the world where human rights are respected and security is ensured with

a lower level of armaments. Proceeding from its own interests the West is not striving for destabilization but wishes success to these changes and is prepared to support them as much as it can", [quotation marks as received] Kohl said.

"During the negotiations with the Soviet leader, the FRG Government was aware of its special responsibility as a partner of the United States", the chancellor said. "Contrary to some predictions, there were neither separate actions on our part, nor Soviet attempts to disrupt our ties with the West", he said particularly. In this connection Kohl summed up as very constructive Gorbachev's attitude to the Brussels initiative of U.S. President George Bush on conventional armaments. "The general secretary and I were united in the view that the main task now is to vigorously promote the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe", Kohl said. "I might reassure those who are skeptical by saying that the Soviet leader went along with me that the deadlines for the conclusion of first agreements in Vienna and their implementation, mentioned by the President of the USA, are quite realistic given appropriate efforts by both sides. The road will then open for negotiations on partial reduction of short-range nuclear missiles of the USA and the USSR. And in this respect, the reaction of the general secretary to the Brussels proposals was constructive, too. The common wish of Bonn and Moscow is also an early conclusion of a convention on complete ban of chemical weapons", the chancellor said.

"The Moscow and Bonn summits consolidated and considerably widened the foundations of bilateral relations, opened new opportunities for mutual understanding and cooperation. We firmly intend to use any chance that serves the cause of peace in Europe and the whole world", Chancellor Kohl said in conclusion.

FRG Politicians Comment

LD1606180389 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT
16 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn June 16 TASS—By TASS correspondents Lev Volnukhin and Vladimir Serov:

Debates on the government statement of Chancellor Helmut Kohl on the results of Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to the FRG were held in the Bundestag today. "This visit opens a new chapter in the relations between the FRG and the USSR and is an event that encouraged all Europeans", said FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Genscher said that joint statement signed in Bonn by the leaders of the two countries offers a chance for deideologisation and demilitarisation of East-West relations and noted that equality of all states in Europe proclaimed in the statement opens an opportunity to create European peaceful order.

Emphasizing international importance of reforms implemented in the USSR and other socialist countries, Genscher also said that the conclusion of the Treaty on the

Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missiles, a number of unilateral steps for disarmament and Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan also helped create a new favourable climate in the world.

The enthusiastic welcome of the Soviet leader by people of the Federal Republic showed their profound striving for peace and reconciliation with peoples of the Soviet Union, Genscher said. The head of the FRG foreign policy department described Gorbachev as a leader who makes courageous and persistent efforts to open the road to a better future to the Soviet people.

Gorbachev's visit merits positive appraisal from two viewpoints, said Willy Brandt, honorary chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). First, concrete agreements were achieved on bilateral cooperation in various areas and, second, the visit gave additional impulses for the consolidation of peace and security in Europe. Describing the joint statement as a weighty document, Brandt emphasized the importance of implementing the principles set out in it.

"We witness the conclusion of the post-war epoch which was characterised by the arms race and military confrontation", said Egon Bahr, member of the SPD Presidium. "We are faced with a great undertaking—to build new Europe whose main features will be peaceful competition of political systems and their economic cooperation. This prospect formulated in the joint statement is based on a solid foundation of the 1970 Moscow treaty. We wish to make war impossible. This thought that was regarded as utopia several years ago, now becomes a practical task", Bahr said.

Otto Lambsdorff, chairman of the Free Democratic Party, said the summit meeting in Bonn held out new hopes to Germany, Europe and, possibly, the whole world. It will not be an overstatement to say that great and broad prospects for peaceful future, based not only on mutual treaties and agreements, but also on confidence and peoples' right to self-determination opened these days.

Lambsdorff noted that the success of reforms implemented in the USSR under Gorbachev's leadership will be to the benefit not only of the Soviet Union. These reforms already have an impact on countries of Eastern Europe, and not only on them. "Therefore we are prepared for economic cooperation with the Soviet Union", he said.

Volker Ruehe, deputy chairman of the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] group in the Bundestag, described the visit as a historic event. "We share the view of General Secretary Gorbachev that Soviet-West German relations now reach a new level", he said. Ruehe said the historic importance

of the visit is summed up above all by the joint statement, the document directed at the third millennium and containing important elements for the construction of Europe of peace and cooperation.

At the conclusion of the debates, the Bundestag unanimously adopted a resolution in which all parliamentary groups endorsed the results of the Soviet-West German summit meeting and welcomed the joint statement signed at the meeting.

USSR Commentators Discuss Gorbachev Visit

Chemical Weapons Statement Praised

LD1706204389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] [Announcer] During Comrade Gorbachev's visit to the FRG, the USSR and FRG foreign ministers agreed on a statement concerning efforts to ban chemical weapons. Over to commentator Vladimir Pasko.

[Pasko] Against the background of the political statement, in which the leaders of the two countries for the first time in East-West relations tried together to outline the aims of their policy and the impressive array of bilateral agreements envisioning the expansion of Soviet-West German cooperation in various fields, the document we are talking about might be not so prominent. But this in no way diminishes its significance. The USSR and FRG have agreed to intensify bilateral discussions on all aspects of banning chemical weapons, and to this end have arranged to hold expert consultations on a regular basis.

The fact of having such an understanding with a country which is a NATO member, a country on whose territory foreign chemical weapons are deployed, is, of course, remarkable. It is remarkable first and foremost in that it establishes the desire of the parties, despite all the differences between them, to join forces in order to achieve as quickly as possible a global, all-encompassing, and effectively verifiable ban on chemical weapons in the shortest possible time.

There are grounds for joining forces like this. First of all, it is worth noting West German's negative attitude toward chemical weapons. Talking about that, the FRG leaders stress that it is precisely thanks to their efforts that the United States pledged to remove its chemical weapons from the FRG and not to deploy in the FRG in peacetime its new variant: binary weapons. This corresponds to the reality, but does not exhaust the grounds which make it possible to join forces on the road to banning this dangerous means of waging war. The conceptual approaches of the two countries to this problem are similar in many respects, and this is also established in the statement which was agreed.

First and foremost, it is worth mentioning here their identity of positions on such issues as problems of verification [kontrol], confidence-building, and the non-proliferation of chemical weapons. The sides proclaim their readiness to support any verification measure which creates greater security. They advocate the conclusion in a convention of carefully worked out procedures for systematic verification and a system of compulsory challenge inspections. As for monitoring [kontrol] of the chemical industry, they agree that a balance is required here between monitoring and commercial interests. I would note that these happen to be the very same issues on which the participants in the Geneva disarmament conference stumbled when drawing up the convention banning chemical weapons. The identity of aims and positions and the accord between the USSR and the FRG on intensification of bilateral discussions on all aspects of this problem presuppose that here both sides will act in concert. Without doubt, all this increases the chances that the problem of banning chemical weapons will be solved and that mankind will ultimately be rid of this terrible means of mass destruction.

'Key Points' of Joint Statement Cited

LD1706142989 Moscow World Service in English
1100 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] The results of the visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to the Federal Republic of Germany are still being analyzed. Here is a commentary from our political observer Viktor Glazunov, and this is what he writes:

The visit was a success. The participants in the Soviet-West German summit agree about that. All observers agree, too, as they note that the visit (?brought) the Soviet-West German relations to a new level of understanding and cooperation. But analysts wonder at the same time whether that is good for third countries. There is even talk in NATO that there is a danger that the Federal Republic of Germany may follow a separate line. I regard such misgivings, writes Viktor Glazunov, as baseless, and I'm confident that the people who spread such misgivings realize very well that West Germany is not going to act to cause damage to the Western alliance and [words indistinct] understand that such people have reason to be displeased. The alleged Soviet menace is disappearing. The course of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany and its results are a fine illustration to this.

The menace is disappearing and that means there is no more basis for a policy from a position of strength, a policy of nuclear intimidation, for all the NATO plans to modernize nuclear arms and to have a compensation in the area of armaments. The latest Soviet-West German summit shows a growing trust between the two countries. That made it possible to formulate a charter of common values, as the joint Soviet-West German statement, issued during the visit, is now already referred to. Some key points of the statement are these: respect for the freedom of choice by every nation, that is surely in

common interests; the removal of the threat of nuclear or conventional war, that too is an objective for all; and what other way can help reach these aims but the path of building a world with a smaller amount of arms. That is one more point made in the joint statement.

Of course the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany still have differences in their approaches to solving problems. But the main thing is that there is a common understanding that basic issues facing mankind can be resolved only together by all states and peoples. This is an invitation to all to cooperate also on the problem of averting war, removing the ecological threat, and ending hunger and other scourges on the earth. This is also an invitation to build a common European home in which there is room for the United States and Canada. That is a special point made in the Bonn statement. So, there are no secret designs. Early in the 1970s the turn in relations between the USSR and West Germany from confrontation to normalization launched a general European process. The present level of cooperation between the two countries can become the start for building the common European home. There is no need to prove what significance that has not only for Europe but for the rest of the world, considering the fact that Europe is the concentration of the nerve nodes of the world politics, that the two biggest military groupings of our times confront each other there. It is certainly an historic gain that the two countries have agreed to work for overcoming the division of Europe, for ending the military confrontation. Such a line is an imperative of the times. As Mikhail Gorbachev said at a news conference in Bonn, we are simply doomed to a new stage in the relations between nations. I call it a peaceful period.

USSR Diplomat Interviewed on FRG, Restructuring

LD1306122289 Paris Domestic Service in French
0620 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Interview on 13 June in Paris with Soviet Embassy Counsellor Vladimir Fedorovskiy by journalist Bernard Brigouleix; Fedorovskiy speaking in French—live]

[Text] [Brigouleix] Our guest this morning is Vladimir Fedorovskiy, counsellor of the Soviet Embassy in Paris and experienced observer of international life. Good morning, Vladimir Fedorovskiy. This tremendous popularity of Mikhail Gorbachev in the West, particularly in Germany: Is it not based on a considerable ambiguity? Are the Westerners not choosing the totally wrong path by ascribing to Gorbachev the intention of getting out of the communist system, even if they do not use these words?

[Fedorovskiy] I would like to tell you that, first of all, Gorbachev symbolizes the change [le changement] after all. That is why he is the focus of so much attention, in fact. It is good to personalize things but, after all, there is a whole country behind Gorbachev. There is this spirit of renewal which comes from us [de chez nous]. On the other hand to say getting out of the system, what system

is that? If you speak of the Stalinist system, he has already got out of that system. It was he who promoted this spirit of renewal which represents everything anti-Stalinist and antidoctinaire. In this respect, I think that the Westerners' interest in Gorbachev is quite legitimate.

[Brigouleix] For 2 weeks we have witnessed all sorts of criticism freely expressed from the rostrum of the People's Deputies Congress in Moscow, all this in front of the television cameras. This was a glasnost effort hailed in the West but how far can you go on this particular road?

[Fedorovskiy] Well, I think that glasnost has no limit. The only possible limit would be that of remaining within the framework of the choice, that of the October Revolution, a choice which is a real one for which we work in fact. The spirit of criticism is also a sort of pledge to renew the country, to solve the immediate problems but also to answer the challenges of the 21st century.

[Brigouleix] Yes, but when, for example, you hear Andrey Sakharov demand the abrogation of Article 6 of the Constitution which gives a central role to the Communist Party—has he the faintest chance of being heard?

[Fedorovskiy] Well, as you know, one discusses things very freely at the congress but, well, Andrey Sakharov made a speech to that effect but, also, he spoke several times. Debating ideas is a healthy and necessary thing for my country. Therein lies the [word indistinct] of the future.

[Brigouleix] Going beyond specific cases, are you not touching upon the essence now? If for example there were to be elections which are more free, with at least a suggestion of pluralism. [indistinct cross talk] If one day the elections give a Polish-style answer, for example, what will the regime do if there is an opposition landslide?

[Fedorovskiy] The examples are different in fact. It is up to the Poles to judge their situation and up to us to judge ours. We must not superimpose the situations. In our country the democratic process is developing differently from that in Poland.

[Brigouleix] But do they not consider in Moscow, for example, that General Jaruzelski was awfully uncautious?

[Fedorovskiy] Not at all, you know fully well that President Jaruzelski has done a tremendous work for the Poles and I think that he is a wise man who has accomplished quite a lot lately.

[Brigouleix] Boris Yeltsin proposes that a group of progressive deputies be set up in the congress. Is it feasible or is it the suggestion of a pluripartyism which continues to be a constitutional impossibility?

[Fedorovskiy] Well, you know, there is no formal proposal regarding the creation of groups but there are certainly the deputies who come together owing to their

common interests; there are ecological issues, for example, which generate a great deal of interest with many. There are a great many deputies who get together for that. There are other issues. Case by case, the deputies will certainly discuss issues, those of construction and architecture, within the committee chaired by Yeltsin....

[Brigouleix, interrupting] This is according to interest in various issues while a progressive group has a precise political coloration above all in the present debate?

[Fedorovskiy] It is difficult to use the term progressive, I would say, because, in the final analysis, there are the ideas expressed by several deputies, by Gorbachev. I think there is indeed a free discussion of ideas on these topics.

[Brigouleix] Let us go back to Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to West Germany. For you Russians, is West Germany the weakest link in the West European chain on, say, a psychopolitical plane, despite its considerable industrial power?

[Fedorovskiy] Well, you know, it would mean being Freudian in these matters. Let us examine realities: We favor developing our relations with Federal Germany but the development is not directed against someone but toward ensuring peace in Europe and a better world. This is all, this is all.

[Brigouleix] In the economic sphere do you rely on the West Germans to help you with the restructuring of the Soviet economy?

[Fedorovskiy] We have good relations with the West Germans. In fact there is a whole range of agreements which I believe will be signed today, there is a very important political document; I think there will be a West German who will participate in the space flights with the Russians. There is much to do, there is the setting up of the trade center. Of course we shall develop our relations.

[Brigouleix] Is Moscow willing to make important concessions on the German issue—and I am thinking in particular of reunification, the status of Berlin—in exchange for greater neutrality on the part of Bonn and German economic aid? I was surprised for example by Nikolay Portugelov's article in DER SPIEGEL last week, explaining that the division of Germany is not necessarily definitive and indispensable.

[Fedorovskiy] I do not want to create false impressions on this subject. We favor developing relations with Germany within the framework of the status quo in Europe. We do not favor, let us say, breaking with [rompre avec] the results of the last war. They are there. Starting from this we must carry out serious negotiations and one can make progress.

[Brigouleix] (?You will not go) much further from the point of view of reunification? [indistinct cross talk]

[Fedorovskiy] I would not think so, I would not think so, but I think that we can develop to a large extent the state-to-state relations, but also, within the framework of the Europe of the Twelve and of CEMA we can do much, purely and simply in order to build this common home of which there is so much talk and which in fact reflects today's realities.

[Brigouleix] There is one striking fact if one examines the current state of the socialist countries, that is, to see to what an extent East Germany lags behind regarding glasnost and perestroika. Your Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met Erich Honecker in East Berlin last week!

[Fedorovskiy] Yes, Yes, he popped over there....

[Brigouleix, interrupting] What did he tell Honecker? Did he reassure him regarding Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Bonn?

[Fedorovskiy] You know full well that we have good relations with the GDR and I think that many things were discussed during the talks with Shevardnadze, particularly the proposals which the Warsaw Pact socialist country members put forward regarding the exchange of representatives with NATO. There are many things and we certainly have a close concerted action with the GDR.

[Brigouleix] Vladimir Fedorovskiy, what can Mikhail Gorbachev do when faced with the growing ethnic conflicts: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, etc. (?and there are others)?

[Fedorovskiy] I can give you my feelings about it, of course. In my view one must not exaggerate the scope of the conflict, purely and simply because within the democratic context many things can be settled. The congress has proved that the democratic context is there. Within this context, the people who matter in these republics are aware that the guarantee for the future lies in democracy. Within this context one can discuss and things will be settled in a spirit of compromise, I imagine.

[Brigouleix] We had the impression in the last few days that Moscow was terribly embarrassed by the events in China whether it was a question of protest, or now by its repression. Why do you not condemn the repression more clearly? Precisely because the Soviet Union is a big state, even the leading socialist country in world. It would have considerable weight.

[Fedorovskiy] First of all I must tell you that we must first be in possession of all the data regarding the events in China and, on the other hand, I point out to you that the People's Deputies Congress has made a statement on this topic in which it expressed the wish that this tragic page in Chinese history should be turned.

[Brigouleix] What I would call a moderate condemnation after all.

[Fedorovskiy] Well, I let you be the judge of this, but I would also say that one should not interfere in other countries' internal affairs. You can be sure with Gorbachev, this is not our case. Finally, I point out to you after all that, for example, in the last issue of *LES NOUVELLES DE MOSCOU* there is a leading article on this topic which deals with many issues but which draws lessons for us alone, it does not give lessons. This is what people detest the most.

[Brigouleix] Thank you Vladimir Fedorovskiy.

USSR Servicemen's Visit to FRG Described
PM1406151589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 10 Jun 89 Single Edition p 4

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov report under the rubric "From a Travel Notebook": "A Group of Soviet Servicemen Toured FRG Soil From Munich to Bonn"]

[Excerpts] Such a thing has never happened before. These words could well serve as the motto for each of the 8 days that a group of 10 Soviet servicemen—ranging from private to colonel—spent on West German soil.

Indeed, such trips have never happened before. Never before has the country's federal president, land prime ministers, or leaders of the FRG's leading political parties had such partners in talks. Never before have Soviet conscripts talked with the state secretary of the FRG Ministry of Defense, been inside Bundeswehr barracks, or conducted a lively dialogue with their coevals in the uniform of West German servicemen. All these and many other meetings and conversations took place during this remarkable trip, which became a kind of symbol of the new political thinking. It was organized by the USSR Ministry of Defense and APN at the invitation of the influential West German newspaper *DIE WELT*.

"On what mission are you flying to the FRG?" we were asked at Sheremetyevo Airport by an amazed Aeroflot employee, who was having to deal with such passengers for the first time.

"On a good-will mission," one of our group replied and jokingly added: "To see people and show ourselves." [passage omitted]

During the high-level talks that the Soviet servicemen had the conversation invariably turned to the new political thinking which has changed so strikingly the whole international atmosphere over the past few years. They really were high-level talks. The group of Soviet Army servicemen was received by Federal President R. von Weizsaecker; Land Prime Ministers L. Spaeth and J. Rau; H.-J. Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD]; T. Waigel, chairman of the Christian Social Union; and other prominent politicians of the country. The West German press attached special significance to the fact that the Soviet servicemen were

making their trip on the threshold of the FRG visit by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

People in the FRG expect much of this visit. In the opinion of the FRG president, it must take a big step toward a better future for Europe and its inhabitants. The Soviet leader's visit, a recently adopted special statement by the SPD Presidium reads, provides an opportunity to advance the cause of creating a peaceful European order and to help to direct the resources which hitherto have been used to build up the potential for destruction henceforth toward averting the dangers that threaten all mankind. I believe that the Soviet servicemen's trip made a definite contribution to the cause of creating a good atmosphere for the Soviet leader's upcoming visit to the country.

All the interlocutors were left with many vivid impressions of the lively conversation between the Soviet servicemen and Bundeswehr servicemen in the DIE WELT editorial office. The Soviet servicemen emphasized that they see no one as an enemy but will consider as such anyone who attacks our motherland. These words made a great impression not only on the direct participants in the conversation but, it must be thought, on thousands of readers of DIE WELT, which specially singled out this very important thought in its report on the meeting.

The Soviet soldiers and Bundeswehr servicemen told each other about their service and combat training and their leisure. Replying to a question from Private 1st Class Eggers as to whether Soviet soldiers like serving, Senior Sergeant Ashot Amirkhanyan said: "I am from the Caucasus. We, for example, cannot call a guy a 100-percent man unless he has served in the Army. I readily went to serve. I consider this my duty and sacred obligation."

During this discussion, which passed in a perfectly amicable and constructive atmosphere, as it has recently become customary to say, the Bundeswehr servicemen learned much about the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army that was interesting and new to them. Georgian Master Sergeant M. Bukiya, Estonian Junior Sergeant A. Valkna, Russian Private V. Podolskiy, Ukrainian Cadet G. Sheleshko, and other members of the Soviet group shared their thoughts with their West German coevals.

The Soviet servicemen in turn were interested to learn something about the Bundeswehr at first hand, so to speak. They listened attentively to information about the working in the FRG Armed Forces of the system of fiduciaries who work in close contact with commanding officers. Each category of servicemen in a subunit chooses them for itself. Such a fiduciary—Private 1st Class G. Shtyuvel [name as transliterated]—participated in the discussion. Speaking of his tasks, he explained that a chief with approximately 100 men under him cannot, of course, know in detail each man's personal problems. It is here that he cannot do without a fiduciary's help. I help the commanding officer

to find the correct solution, Shtyuvel said. But this does not mean that I always endeavor, for example, to secure lighter punishment for a soldier who has done wrong. The reverse sometimes happens....

When the discussion was drawing to a close, the Soviet servicemen were invited to visit the location of the 120th Bundeswehr Repair and Reconstruction Battalion stationed in the city of Rain. They flew there in Bundeswehr helicopters. Population centers drifted past beneath the windows, one blending into another, as it were, and ancient gothic buildings and the modern silhouettes of power stations and residential districts were clearly visible. And I thought then: How intolerable is the very idea that it is possible to wage any military operations on this densely populated territory. But precisely this territory is more saturated with all sorts of weapons than any other in West Europe, NATO exercises take place right here virtually without ceasing, and some people would like to deliver right here "modernized" missiles with nuclear warheads. These thoughts did not leave me even when we were shown the battalion's squeaky-clean sleeping accommodation, classrooms, and workshops. I recall the words of Sergeant Major R.-D. Krause. "I am pleased to see Soviet soldiers," he said and added ingenuously: "I am amazed and struck by the fact that they are people just like I."

Indeed, we are all people. And we must resolve in a human, civilized way the problems that have accumulated. But this is impossible without trust among individuals and whole peoples. The Soviet servicemen's trip to the banks of the Rhine was designed to contribute to the cause of strengthening such trust between the peoples of the USSR and the FRG. Bundeswehr servicemen are to make a return visit to the Soviet Union in the near future. The construction of the edifice of trust will be continued.

Science, Technology Cooperation With FRG Viewed
AU1406120689 Munich SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG
in German 12 Jun 89 p 49

[Article by Kirill Dyumayev, "corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, deputy chairman of the USSR Science and Technology State Committee, and chairman of the Soviet side of the USSR-FRG Joint Committee for Scientific-Technological Cooperation": "A Package of Offers for the Joint Committee"]

[Text] Soviet-FRG cooperation in science and technology with private firms and companies has been cultivated for more than 20 years. It comprises practically all fields of industrial production and of the agro-industrial complex. It is most active, however, in machine-building and in appertaining fields (machine tool construction, vehicle construction, instrument construction, electrical engineering, and energetics), in the field of chemistry, the construction sector, agriculture, pulp, paper, and wood-processing industry, the transportation and telecommunications sectors, and computer technology. There are now 47 long-term agreements with individual

companies on scientific-technological cooperation in new technologies, equipment, and materials. Our traditional partners in the field of scientific-technological cooperation are Hoechst, Bayer, BASF, Siemens, Daimler-Benz, Krupp, Mannesmann, Salzgitter, Ruhrkohle, Ruhrgas, and others.

A result of the improvement of the international political climate and the changes taking place in the management of our country's economy is the signing of an agreement between the USSR Government and the FRG Government on scientific-technological cooperation on 22 July 1986, which came into force on 7 July 1987 together with three specialized agreements on cooperation in agricultural research, medical science, and the health sector as well as the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

On the basis of this agreement, dozens of scientific centers and enterprises, hundreds of scientists and experts joined this cooperation, who previously did not have any opportunity to participate in it.

In 1988 the USSR-FRG Joint Committee for Scientific-Technological Cooperation was formed, which provides support to the organizations and enterprises in establishing direct relations and established the necessary preconditions for the development of cooperation.

Cooperation in the fields of the peaceful use of nuclear energy is developing positively, including concerning problems of raising nuclear reactor safety (fast breeder reactors with liquid metal heat transfer medium, high temperature, gas-cooled pressure water reactors), the problems of thermonuclear synthesis, and in research into the basic properties of matter. At present work is being done to pass the juridical and commercial contents of an agreement in cooperation to construct a gas-cooled high temperature reactor with increased temperature of the heat transfer medium (up to 950 degrees celsius).

Joint research in the fields of diagnostics, preventive medicine, and the therapy of malignant growths, the biology and virology of tumors, brain scans, cardiology, cardiac surgery, discovering and preventing infectious diseases, and molecular biology are developing successfully. In addition, the problem of AIDS has been included in the program of cooperation.

Programs of cooperation in the fields of agricultural research have been worked out, with the focal issues being crop production, livestock production, biochemical research, development of ecologically harmless substances, and methods to combat pests and plant diseases. The committee wants to include a number of new areas in the cooperation, including research into high-temperature superconductors in the field of high definition television and in the development of information systems.

In October 1988 an agreement on cooperation in space research was signed. It envisages research in the field of links between the sun and the earth, studies of the solar

system, the planets, and the comets, as well as the atmosphere in space, research on earth, basic research in the fields of microgravity, space biology, and space medicine.

Not With Empty Hands

In April 1989 an experts' meeting on this question took place. An important element in implementing cooperation will be an agreement on German participation in financing the costs in connection with the development and launch of carrier rockets and other space technology, which will be used for joint research programs.

An agreement was achieved with the FRG side to discuss cooperation in fields such as deep sea research, acoustic microscopy, solar energy, seismology, biotechnology, new information technology, the environment, and polar research. At present proposals for the next meeting of the USSR-FRG Joint Committee for Scientific-Technological Cooperation, which will take place in September 1989, are being prepared.

We are convinced that today new opportunities for an essential expansion of cooperation in science-intensive fields of the economy are opening up. We are ready not to come with empty hands.

Joint USSR-FRG Firm Creates New Software

*LD1306223889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
2100 GMT 13 Jun 89*

[Text] Leningrad—A computer with software capable of steering sea vessels has been created by the Soviet-West German firm, (Kompan). The electronic complex has only just been handed over for commercial use to the Baltic maritime fleet. Among the tasks of the joint enterprise, founded more than a year ago, is the elaboration of the manufacture of computers with various modifications, and software for them. For example, an original suite of programs was elaborated by Leningrad experts which is fully compatible with similar ones produced on the world market. Specialists from the FRG also made their contribution to the provision of production technology. High productivity, exceptional reliability, functional diversity, and large memory capacity give the computer complexes the opportunity to compete with computers of other companies. Specialists from the USSR and the FRG have started the elaboration of new modifications of computers which will soon appear on the Soviet and on foreign markets with the brand name (Kompan AP Turbo).

Gorbachev Sends Birthday Greetings to UK Queen

*LD1406095589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0900 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has sent a telegram of greetings to Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on the

occasion of a national holiday. The telegram says: On the occasion of your birthday, accept my greetings and best wishes for the British people and yourself personally.

Thatcher, Jaruzelski Hold 'Friendly' Talks

PM1306104589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 12

[TASS report: "W. Jaruzelski Meets With M. Thatcher"]

[Text] London, 11 Jun—Talks have taken place at Chequers, the country residence of British prime ministers, between British Prime Minister M. Thatcher and W. Jaruzelski, chairman of the Polish Council of State, who has arrived here on a 2-day visit. During the talks the two countries' leaders devoted chief attention to bilateral ties and, in particular, to economic cooperation and discussed the situation in Poland and the state of East-West relations.

According to a spokesman for the prime minister, the talks "were held in a friendly atmosphere." M. Thatcher came out in support of the process of reforms now taking place in Poland and announced a plan for giving financial and economic assistance.

Turkey's Response to MiG-29 Hijacking Criticized

LD1406062789 Moscow TASS in English 0619 GMT
14 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 14 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

Perplexity and indignation, such is the attitude of the Soviet public to the action of the Turkish court and Turkish authorities on the Zuyev case. Let us recall the essence of that case: On May 20, 1989 a certain Zuyev committed an act of terrorism. He hijacked a plane from the USSR to Turkey, heavily wounded a Soviet citizen who tried to interfere with the hijacking, threatened other people. All the information related to these facts was officially turned over to the Turkish side. The answer that came from the Turkish side was that Zuyev, allegedly, acted for "political considerations", so he cannot be extradited, much less punished.

A strange logic, an absolutely unlawful stand, the more so since four months before the hijack Turkey had signed the final document of the Vienna meeting of representatives of the countries, participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The document condemns as criminal all acts, methods and practice of terrorism no matter where and by whom they are committed.

The document also says that the participating countries, and hence, Turkey are determined to take effective measures to prevent and cut short acts of terrorism, to ensure the extradition or prosecution of persons involved in acts of terrorism. There is not the slightest doubt about such facts in the given case: a plane has been hijacked, an armed attack was committed. What is this if not a glaring act of terrorism? What about "effective

measures" which the Turkish authorities pledged themselves take against such criminals? Instead of this there is connivance with the terrorists, attempts to exonerate him under clearly invented pretexts....

Acting in this way, the Turkish side grossly violated the obligations it voluntarily assumed by signing the Vienna final document and also the generally recognised, fundamental principle of international law in accordance with which terrorists should be extradited or punished. It should be noted in this connection that in 1987 Turkey supported resolution 42/159 adopted by the 42nd session of the United Nations General Assembly, the resolution about measures to prevent international terrorism. It is said in its clause 5 that the United Nations member-countries should ensure detainment and prosecution or extradition of persons who committed acts of terrorism. How does the present stand of the Turkish authorities go with this resolution?

As to the version of the Turkish side that Zuyev had allegedly hijacked a plane for "political reasons", there is no need to prove that almost every terrorist, trying to avoid retribution, is prepared to pass himself for a "fighter" motivated by "political convictions". But what reasons there are to take such a view of Zuyev? No reasons at all. Those who try to exonerate a criminal in such an unseemly way should recall article 14 of the 1948 universal declaration of human rights which states not only that every person has a right to seek asylum but also that this right cannot be applied in case of prosecution for committing a non-political crime. It should be added that if every criminal is regarded to be a "political fighter", it will be impossible to combat air piracy, international terrorism.

"If we wish to put an end to terrorism, all countries should extradite terrorists to those countries which have become targets of crimes and demand the extradition of terrorists". None other than Turkish President Kenan Evren stated this on January 15, 1986. As we see, in reality, the Turkish authorities act in the opposite way, probably not without the prompting from the outside. As a result of this criminal Zuyev, as follows from the Turkish press, received an opportunity to fly unobstructed to the USA on the night of June 9. What purposes do these unlawful defiant actions serve? In any case, not the purposes of good development and improvement of Turkish-Soviet relations.

Nikonov Receives French Agriculture Minister

LD1306142689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Text] Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received Nallet, the French minister of agriculture at the latter's request today [13 June]. A constructive conversation was held on problems of expanding the mutually beneficial cooperation of the two countries in the field of agricultural output and the food industry. Both sides expressed

particular interest in the need to establish a regular exchange of experience by organizing visits by specialists and other workers in the agrarian sectors.

The French minister of agriculture was also received today by Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Soviet part of the standing Soviet-French commission. Matters of mutual interest concerning the development of cooperation in the agro-industrial field were considered.

Agreement Signed on Cooperation With French Radio
LD1306223989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1712 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 Jun (TASS)—Today saw the signing here of an agreement on cooperation between the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the French national company Radio France.

There is provision for the exchange of radio programs on important events in the USSR and in France and for giving mutual assistance to radio journalists with the preparation of reports on the life of the peoples of both countries.

The document was signed by Mikhail Nenashev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and Jean Maillet, president and director-general of Radio France.

USSR Exhibits at Paris Air Show Described
LD0806195189 Moscow TASS in English 1328 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Paris June 8 TASS—The 38th International Exhibition of Aviation and Cosmonautics opened today in Le Bourget, a Parisian suburb. This year this major world exhibition of aviation and space equipment is attended by 1,543 companies and enterprises from 34 countries, including the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the FRG, the USA, Great Britain, Canada and France. The USSR pavilion traditionally enjoys considerable attention of specialists and public.

This time round the Soviet Union exhibits the world's heaviest six-engine AN-255 "Mriya" transport plane which brought to France on Wednesday [7 June] "Buran", the world's first orbital reusable space vehicle. The Soviet Union has put on display in the exhibition 12 most advanced planes and helicopters. Visitors and specialists can see two new Soviet passenger planes—IL-96 and TU-204. The former is a long-distance plane while the latter is for medium-range air routes.

This year in Le Bourget the Soviet Union exhibits for the first time some new combat aircraft. These are above all the MiG-29 fighter, the Su-27 new generation fighter interceptor and the Su-25 attack plane. The two latter planes have never been shown to foreign public.

Soviet helicopters also attract the attention of specialists and visitors to the exhibition. These include above all MI-1 baptised "the flying hospital", and the MI-28 fire support helicopter.

With the exception of "Mriya" and "Buran", all our flying machines will perform demonstration flights. The exhibition in Le Bourget will last till June 18.

France Offers Legion of Honor to 'Mir' Cosmonauts
LD1306215289 Moscow TASS in English 2120 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Text] Paris June 13 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Nikita Yermakov:

The presentation of the high French awards—the Order of the Legion of Honour—to a group of Soviet cosmonauts took place in the French president's residence, the Elysee Palace. The cosmonauts took part in the joint Soviet-French space flight on board the orbital station "Mir" late in 1988. Aleksandr Volkov and Vladimir Titov became commanders of the Order of the Legion of Honour. Aleksandr Viktorenko, Sergey Krikalev, Musa Manarov, Valeriy Polyakov and Aleksandr Serebrov became officers of the order of the Legion of Honour.

Presenting the awards, French President Francois Mitterrand said he had wanted to do this himself. The Order of the Legion of Honour is awarded for courage, knowledge and competence shown by the cosmonauts. Besides that, during the work on board the station the cosmonauts have been able to show high professional standards and make considerable contribution to the development of world science. This is not just a result of personal effort but combining efforts of a whole collective. Scientific observations made in space will soon be of decisive importance. The Soviet-French space flight has become an evidence of vigorous and useful cooperation between the Soviet Union and France, the head of the French state went on. This has become possible due to the stay of a Soviet-French crew on board space station, their joint training for the flight and making experiments. The information obtained during the flight will serve the peoples of the two countries and enrich knowledge of the whole world.

France will soon be welcoming the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the president said. The undertaking which was started in 1985 and which makes it possible to agree upon policy in many areas of cardinal importance is to be continued during the forthcoming talks. We are looking forward to Mikhail Gorbachev's arrival, Francois Mitterrand said. He noted that he follows with interest the Soviet Union's political life. In conclusion he recalled that he had had an opportunity to observe some aspects of Soviet scientific activities, when he visit Stellar Town [as received]0 and Baykonur Cosmodrome.

"I am very glad that the Soviet cosmonauts were decorated with high French orders", Jacques-Louis Lions, president of the French National Centre of Space Studies, told TASS. "Our cooperation has not ended with last year's flight of Jean-Loup Chretien. Far from that. Programmes for the observation of the state of the environment from space, exchange of data obtained and creating models of the evolution of the state of the globe are being prepared. There are plans for joint actions to study Mars, for various technological experiments and, certainly, the possibility of another flight of a Soviet-French crew is being discussed".

Cooperation in space between the Soviet Union and France is developed at a good pace according to plan, Vladimir Titov told TASS upon receiving the award. It is pleasant that there are plans for a space flight of a new Soviet-French crew. Space exploration is not the problem of one country, but a universal concern, and we are striving for cooperation in this area with all the countries interested in this, Titov said.

Italy Prepares To Receive U.S. F-16's From Spain
PM1406154989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jun 89 Second Edition p 1

[Dispatch by correspondent Nikolay Miroshnik: "Not in the Spirit of the Times"]

[Text] Rome, 11 Jun—The construction of a base for 72 U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers, which are to be "evicted" from Spain, will start in Crotone, a small Italian town situated on the "sole" of the Italian "boot," in the fall, as planned."

The decision to provide the American air wing with a "refuge" in the Apennines was made by the Italian Government exactly 1 year ago in disregard of numerous public protests. However, after U.S. President Bush announced his intention to cut the armed forces, particularly aviation, stationed in West Europe, many Italians began to hope that the F-16's from Spain would be sent straight back home, across the Atlantic. It would seem simpler from a technical standpoint to implement the reduction this way as well as being economically more advantageous, since equipping the new air base at Crotone will cost NATO \$500 million.

However, such hopes were not fated to be long-lived. Italian Defense Minister Valerio Zanone hastened to dispel them. He told journalists that the "invitation" to the American planes "remains open," since their "vital importance" for the defense of NATO's southern flank has not changed.

In that way, to use the words of one Italian newspaper, the defense minister decided to show himself to be "more royalist than the king himself." After all, doubt is being expressed even in U.S. official circles and the Congress regarding the "vital importance" of the costly relocation of fighter-bombers from Spain to Italy in the light of possible accords in Vienna.

But the minister's statement did not stop there. He also confirmed Italy's intention to participate unconditionally in the project to build the new "European fighter," in which the FRG, Britain, and Spain are also engaged. The creation of this aircraft, which far from everyone in the North Atlantic bloc itself considers necessary, will cost Italy, according to the most modest estimates, 3 trillion lire. But as Zanone—who loves, incidentally, to bemoan the lack of budget appropriations for national defense—stated, the new Italian Government will present a special finance bill to parliament on this score when the present crisis is over and it is finally in office.

Austrian Views Cooperation Prospects With USSR
AU1306144089 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
13 Jun 89 p 4

[Pia Maria Plechl report: "Soviet Scientist Visits Vienna; University Graduates Back Gorbachev; Secretary General Makarov in Favor of More Cooperation With Austria"]

[Text] Vienna—There are several reasons why Igor M. Makarov, secretary general of the USSR Academy of Sciences and professor of information technology, has come to Vienna: In the first place there is the invitation by University Professor Werner Welzig, secretary general of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and specialist in German studies, which is envisaged also to extend the cooperation agreement between the two institutes; then there is the presentation of the diploma on the appointment of Vienna linguist and University Professor Manfred Mayrhofer as a foreign member; further economic talks on the establishment of guest house of the Soviet Academy by an Austrian firm; contacts with the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis; a meeting with Science Minister Erhard Busek on Sunday [11 June]. An "academic evening in a wine tavern" provided the opportunity for an interview by DIE PRESSE.

The political development in the Soviet Union has also increased and improved the opportunities for the Academy's work, the general secretary confirmed. "I hope that we will be able to double the exchange of scientists with sister academies. We want to intensify relations with the United States, Great Britain, Japan, and Austria." Gorbachev's international initiatives are of great advantage to such plans.

As regards cooperation with the Austrian academy, the Soviet scientists are primarily interested in environmental protection and social economy, but also in questions of political economy and sociological studies. This includes studies "on what the state can give so that he feels himself to be a human being, even if he is unemployed, or on the effects of the tax system and the social insurance structures."

The question of the Academy's political position and importance fitted in logically after the enumeration of these main fields of interest. "The majority of the members are for Gorbachev and his line, his ideas,"

Makarov answered spontaneously. His personal opinion? "I believe we have waited too long for a man like Gorbachev." There are more than 100 academy members in the new Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet Chairman Primakov also comes from the highest academic body.

This positive new development also has a historical component, Makarov added: "In the course of history, not only of the USSR, but also of Russia, the academy has always been a democratic organization. Even in the era of Stalin it worked according to its own statutes. Its members have always been elected by secret ballot by the regular members. Even during Sakharov's exile in Gorkiy, he continued to be a member. Again and again, the academy has developed independently and presented its analyses." Now they are taken more into account than before. It has never been confronted with questions such as the use of psychiatry against regime critics: There are no doctors among its members.

The fact that today purposeful research in many fields is only possible with international cooperation is not new to the USSR Academy of Sciences. "One mind is good, two minds are better." This was Makarov's formulation which is not as fluent as it is in Russian. "Exchanges of experience across all borders is vital. This applies to environmental protection, as well as to space research, material research, and the energy sector." Cooperation means, at the same time, more economic use of the internationally available means and the use of economic capacities.

Makarov welcomes the progress made in the disarmament talks also for this reason. "I am neither a pacifist nor do I believe that a large-scale war will break out again. We will not experience a new Afghanistan or Vietnam." He hopes that "at least part of the enormous financial resources that have been required for military strengthening so far will be used by science for service to man." The top scientists have to make use of this opportunity in international cooperation, he stated.

Cooperation Talks With EEC Commission Planned
*LD1306070389 Moscow TASS in English 0630 GMT
13 Jun 89*

[Text] Luxembourg June 13 TASS—The European Economic Community's Council of Ministers that met in the capital of Luxembourg on Monday [12 June] instructed the EEC's executive body—the Commission of the European Communities (CEC)—to begin talks with the Soviet Union on the conclusion of a treaty on trade and economic cooperation.

The mandate, endorsed by the foreign ministers of Common Market countries, for the conduct of the talks envisages the elaboration of an agreement covering a broad spectrum of fields cooperation in which is of mutual interest to the Soviet Union and the EEC.

Talks may begin soon, said Frans Andriessen, the CEC vice-president.

It is being pointed out in diplomatic circles that the talks will become an important stage of the process the beginning of which was set by the signing of a joint declaration on the establishment of official relations between the European Economic Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in summer last year.

EEC Ties To Promote 'Common European Home'
*LD1306131489 Moscow TASS in English 1156 GMT
13 Jun 89*

[Text] Moscow June 13 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

At the Luxembourg session of the Council of Ministers of the European Economic Community (EEC) at foreign ministers' level, it was decided to instruct the EEC's executive body—the Commission of the European Communities (CEC)—to enter into official talks with the Soviet Union on the conclusion of a wide-ranging agreement on cooperation.

This important decision signifies that the process, started in June last year by the signing of a joint declaration of the establishment of official relations between the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and the EEC, is undergoing additional acceleration and development.

It is a question of entering a new stage in relations between the Soviet Union and the EEC, the stage which was prepared by long unofficial talks and consultations between the sides, and of specifying the understanding already reached by them.

It is noteworthy that talks which, as CEC vice president Frans Andriessen said, may begin soon, will deal with a large-scale basic agreement covering a whole spectrum of fields, including trade, versatile economic contacts, and cooperation in the sphere of science and technology. The practice of the EEC's relations with other countries has not yet known such an agreement before.

Although the negotiating process is not an easy or quick one, nevertheless it signifies the entering of the USSR-EEC relations into a qualitatively new stage.

The horizons of the establishment of mutually-beneficial cooperation are becoming visible, and prospects are opening up for growing trust and mutual understanding, for the drawing of Eastern and Western Europe closer together, and the development of political dialogue on the principles of mutual respect, equality and absolute recognition of the freedom of choice.

On the other hand, it is believed that the establishment of relations between the EEC and the Soviet Union will have a favourable effect on the state of affairs in Europe and outside it and will become a contribution to the building of a peaceful European set-up and to the formation of all-European consciousness.

The new emerging stage in the development of relations between the USSR and the EEC also promises to become a course towards better understanding of each other and diverse contacts between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Common Market countries.

In other words, realistic possibilities are being created for the implementation of the idea of building a 'common European home', the idea which met with understanding and widespread support on our continent.

Political & Social

Sakharov Warns of 'Blind Confidence' in Gorbachev
AU1706150089 Paris AFP in English
1422 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] Groningen, Netherlands, June 17 (AFP)—Andrey Sakharov, the Soviet human rights campaigner and politician, Saturday warned against having "blind confidence" in Mikhail Gorbachev and said that the Soviet Union was currently "on the edge of the abyss."

Speaking to reporters in a village near this northern Dutch city, Mr. Sakharov said the "euphoria" in the West over the Soviet leader's reforms was "very dangerous."

His remarks came just days after Mr. Gorbachev, on an official visit to West Germany earlier this week, received tumultuous welcomes from large crowds in several West German cities.

"The West should have faith in Gorbachev in terms of very precise goals but above all must not have blind confidence" in him, Mr. Sakharov said, speaking through a Dutch interpreter.

Confidence among the Soviet people in the country's leadership has recently fallen sharply due notably to persistent shortages of basic consumer goods, inter-ethnic strife in several republics and the absence of "any social justice" in the country Mr. Sakharov said.

Referring to the situation in China, where earlier this month government troops slaughtered thousands of pro-democracy protesters, Mr. Sakharov said: "I would not rule out that what has just happened in China could take place in the Soviet Union."

Mr. Sakharov said it remained "impossible" to introduce a multi-party political system in the Soviet Union and noted that Article Six of the Soviet constitution, which codifies the political monopoly of the Communist party, has "every chance of being upheld."

He said the question of nationalities within the Soviet Union remained "particularly sensitive."

Mr. Sakharov, accompanied by his wife Yelena Bonner, was in the Netherlands to receive an honorary doctorate from the University of Groningen. In Amsterdam Saturday he was awarded a silver medal from the Dutch Academy of Sciences.

The visit to the Netherlands was Mr. Sakharov's third foreign trip since he was released from internal exile in Gorky in 1986 and his first since being elected to the new Soviet Congress of People's Deputies.

He is due to leave the Netherlands Sunday for a private visit to Britain.

Yeltsin Criticizes Reforms in Italian Paper
AU1606142989 Rome ANSA in English
1229 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] (ANSA)—Rome, June 16—Drastic measures are needed to bring the benefits of perestroika (restructuring) to the Soviet people, according to maverick former Moscow party chief Boris Yeltsin.

In an interview published in Friday's [16 June] edition of the Milan daily *CORRIERE DELLA SERA*, Yeltsin talked of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union under Kremlin chief Mikhail Gorbachev, and of his essential place as a catalyst for further action.

"If Yeltsin did not exist, Gorbachev would have had to invent him," said the man who garnered 90 percent of Moscovites' votes in the March 26 elections for the new Congress of People's Deputies. "During a process of democratisation, to give the impression of being a democrat, it is essential to have someone around to really criticise."

Looking back over the past four years of perestroika, Yeltsin said that the benefits of reform had not been felt at all in many sectors, and in places the situation had actually worsened.

"Drastic measures are needed to improve the living standards of our people," Yeltsin said. "I do not think people's patience will hold out more than a year or so."

"I do not think that our leaders are capable of understanding the people's moods," Yeltsin went on. "They just will not go on accepting this state of things for much longer. A revolutionary situation will arise if things do not change."

According to the party black sheep, who is no longer a Politburo member but heads the committee for reform of the Supreme Soviet, the ruling Politburo is split over "solutions to help the country out of the dead end street it has found itself in." For Yeltsin, borrowing from abroad is essential for setting the country to rights.

On a political level, the May 25-June 9 inaugural session of the Congress of People's Deputies had its positive and negative sides, in Yeltsin's opinion.

"It was a great victory for glasnost (transparency) with the works of the congress transmitted live on television," he said, "and there was great involvement from the deputies with over 800 people registering to speak... Many of the deputies were highly critical."

On the negative side, he went on, is the fact that the real power in the country still does not rest with this freely elected body. "To have been a really historical event, the congress would have had to see power pass to organs

elected by the people, that is, to the congress, and the party would have had to accept the dictates of the Congress of Deputies," he said.

Gorbachev Comments on Relationship With Parents

AU1406165789 Hamburg BILD in German
14 Jun 89 p 2

[Interview with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, by Mainhardt Count Nayhauss in Bonn: "What Gorbachev Told Me About his Mother"—date not given]

[Text] The chancellor introduced me: "Mr General Secretary, this is Count Nayhauss. He is a journalist who works for BILD, our largest newspaper. But be careful what you tell him!"

I asked: "One knows so little about your family. How is your mother, for instance?"

[Gorbachev] "How do you know about my mother?" (I knew that his mother Maria Panteleyevna is in her late seventies and still lives in the village of Privolnoye in the northern Caucasus where Gorbachev was born. She receives DM125 as a pension and keeps hens and a cow. At least she did so last year.)

[Nayhauss] "I read about her in a book."

He knew the book.

[Gorbachev] "Well, first, thank you for your interest. Second, she is well. She visits me often, but she does not want to move to Moscow for good."

[Nayhauss] "What did she say when her son became the top man of the Soviet Union?"

Gorbachev burst into laughter.

[Gorbachev] "'Why do you have to do that?' she asked. 'Think of all the worries you will have to face.'"

I thought of his father Sergey Andreyevich, who was the driver of a harvester-thresher in a kolkhoz. He fought against the Germans in the last war as a mine sweeper, was injured several times, and died in 1976.

[Nayhauss] "Who influenced you more, your father or your mother?"

Gorbachev looks at me very thoughtfully, very long, then he says: "Emotionally, my mother influenced me more. Intellectually, my father. Even though he was a simple man, I learned much from him. We spoke a lot about policy, also about foreign policy. However, the older I grew, the more I had my own opinion."

I wanted to ask one more question, but he demurred, laughing: "These were already a lot of questions for such a short interview."

Earth Tremor Reported in Spitak Region

LD1706063189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0600 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] Our correspondent has just reported from Yerevan that at about midnight a new underground tremor was registered in the region of the Spitak earthquake. At the epicenter, which was located north of the city of Kirovakan, its strength exceeded five points on a 12-point scale. This is the first tremor in the Spitak earthquake zone after almost a month's silence. In Yerevan it was felt with a strength of about four. There were no casualties or new destruction either in the republican capital or at the epicenter.

More on Tremors in Armenia

LD1706112789 Moscow TASS in English
1109 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] Yerevan June 17 TASS—Seismic stations in Armenia registered earth tremors, measuring up to 2.5 points on the 12-point Soviet scale, in Kirovakan at 6 a.m. local time today. According to specialists, these are secondary tremors in the given zone. The first tremors occurred yesterday and measured 5.5 in Kirovakan, 4 to 5 in Aparan, 4 in Razdan and 3 in Leninakan.

According to the Geological Institute of the Academy of Sciences of Armenia, the epicenter was three kilometers from Kirovakan.

Neither casualties nor damage were reported.

Officials Criticized Over Armenia Rebuilding

LD1706161389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1325 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] Yerevan, 17 Jun (TASS)—The latest operational meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission on the earthquake was held in Yerevan on 17 June and turned out to be unusually large. Apart from leaders directly involved in work in Armenia, it was attended by leaders of a number of USSR ministries and departments, state agro-industrial committees and state construction committees of union and autonomous republics, krays and oblasts, and local soviets. The need to invite them arose from the situation taking shape in the disaster area, where people from all over the country are working. The situation is not an entirely happy one and calls for the coordination of manpower and resources and the specification of the timeframe and quantity of work to be done in each sector.

This was shown by the proceedings of the conference, which was moderated by Boris Tolstykh, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman. It discussed measures to restore rural inhabited localities and production installations of the agro-industrial complex of the Armenian SSR.

It was noted that 108 construction crews are now working in rural regions; more than 2,500 different pieces of technical equipment are being used. Capacities have been created for producing nonmetallic construction materials amounting to 600,000 cubic meters and more than 120 major concrete mixing installations have gone into operation. This has allowed more than 39,000 square meters of living space and schools and temporary kindergartens with 5,220 places to be brought in. The subunits of the state agro-industrial committees of the Ukraine and Uzbekistan in the Amasiya, Akhuryan, and Gukasyan rayons and in the agro-industrial committees of the Krasnodarsk Kray in Spitak are working ahead of schedule.

It was also said at the meeting that the situation at the majority of establishments is tense and the pace of reconstruction work is not satisfactory. The volume of work done over a 5-month period is valued at R127 million or 26.4 percent of the annual plan.

The lack of organization and lack of haste by clients, contractors, designers, and central directorates during the ideal building conditions characteristic of summer are especially worrying. The agricultural construction detachments of the Latvian, Turkmenian, and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics and of a number of oblasts in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and Kazakhstan have been sharply criticized. The main causes of the lagging behind are the shortage of manpower, technical resources, stone, cement, and timber. An unsatisfactory situation has developed regarding the allocation of materials for individual construction work, even though there are applications for them from 10,000 families.

The commission warned the leaders of the appropriate departments about their personal responsibility for a radical improvement in the progress of construction work in the countryside. The USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry, and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic have been instructed to immediately draw up and approve a timetable to restore installations for water supplies, sewerage, gas supplies, and power supplies and to report on this to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo's commission. The Council of Ministers of union republics are instructed to urgently decide matters relating to the use of and delivery to Armenia of wall materials as an alternative to tufa to be used in the construction of housing and social, cultural, and consumer service amenities.

Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, and Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, took part in the commission work.

Kazakh Youths Loot Cooperatives After Brawl
PM1906090389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jun 89 p 1

[Own Alma-Ata correspondent A. Lapin report: "Pogrom Disco Style"]

[Text] It all began with a conflict on one of the dance floors in Novyy Uzen, Guryev Oblast where two hostile groupings clashed. The evening ended with a fight. Late that night groups of young people moved down the city's streets toward the city militia department. On the way they turned kiosks over, broke windows, smashed doors, and set fire to several vehicles.

In the vicinity of the city militia department the raging mob was stopped by Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] staffers. They managed to divert the mob to the city square where negotiations between the young people and the authorities took place.

During these spontaneous talks, which lasted several hours, the young people demanded that the coupon system be abolished and that cooperatives be closed down since, in their opinion, they had created difficulties in the city's food supplies and made prices soar.

It emerged that particular discontent has been caused among the youngsters by their social inequality in comparison with those who come to the Mangyshlak peninsula for duty tours. Inequality in labor remuneration between outsiders and the local population, difficult social conditions in the peninsula, and the presence of large numbers of young people without jobs—all this has created social tension in the area.

A group of Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic MVD staffers has now gone to the scene of the incident. An appropriate assessment of what happened will be made. However, it is clear right now that without a fundamental solution of the social problems, it is impossible to successfully combat such flareups with the help of militia forces alone. After all, the self-same Guryev Oblast, which is very rich in mineral deposits, is decades behind other parts of the country in terms of its social development because of departmental diktat.

Grigory Ivanovich Kuprin, duty officer at the USSR MVD, told the editorial office that the situation in Novyy Uzen has returned to normal in the past few hours. During the excesses five cooperative stores and one store selling alcohol were looted and four vehicles were burned. Several youths were injured. A thorough investigation of the incident is under way in the city.

Meskhetian Turks Rally; Want To See Gorbachev
AU1806134289 Paris AFP in English
1116 GMT 18 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, June 18 (AFP)—About 300 Meskhetian Turks, including people evacuated in the wake of ethnic violence in the Central Asian republic of Uzbekistan, on Sunday pledged to occupy government offices to seek a meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, an AFP correspondent reported.

A spokesman for the Meskhetian Turks, who assembled in a northern Moscow district where some evacuees are being lodged, said that on Monday they would return to the reception of the Supreme Soviet, or parliament, to press their demand for a meeting with the Soviet President.

"Without Gorbachev, we can't go back to Georgia," spokesman Yusuf Savarov said. The Meskhetian Turks were deported from the southern republic of Georgia under Stalin in 1944 and are campaigning to return.

About 100 Meskhetian Turks crowded into the Supreme Soviet office on Friday, but failed to see the Soviet leader who had just returned from West Germany.

The situation in Uzbekistan remained tense on Sunday, according to press reports which said that rumours were fueling passions still running high after two weeks of ethnic unrest. [passage omitted]

Besiege Soviet Parliament Building
AU1906093889 Paris AFP in English
0828 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, June 19 (AFP)—About 200 Meskhetian Turks, including families evacuated in the wake of ethnic unrest, besieged the reception area of the Supreme Soviet, or Soviet parliament, here Monday demanding a meeting with President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Meskhetian Turks, who tried unsuccessfully to see Mr. Gorbachev on Friday on his return from West Germany, crowded inside the building and spilled onto the pavement outside. Spokesmen told an AFP reporter they would stay "all day, all night, all year" if necessary to put their demand for a return to their native Georgia to Mr. Gorbachev.

A total 160,000 Meskhetian Turks were deported to Central Asia under Stalin in 1944. A total 16,282 have been evacuated to parts of central Russia after ethnic unrest in the Central Asian republic of Uzbekistan since June 3.

Some Meskhetian Turks Monday expressed alarm about the separation of families during the evacuation which they feared could lead to assimilation and "the wiping out of our nation". "In 1944 they told us it was a temporary evacuation, now they're saying the same thing," said spokesman Yusuf Savarov. [passage omitted]

More on Continuing Unrest in Uzbekistan

MVD Says Pogroms Not Growing
LD1606171489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1430 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] The situation in the Fergana Valley is returning to normal. At our microphone is Colonel General Yuriy Vasilyevich Shatalin, head of the Internal Security Forces Main Administration of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[Shatalin] Over the past 5 days, no extremist manifestations, pogroms, fires or—even more so—ethnically based clashes have taken place in the towns and inhabited localities of Fergana Oblast. The constantly growing number of casualties results from the fact that we were unable to precisely and promptly determine the scale of the tragedies that occurred mainly on 3 June and during the night of 3-4 June. Consequently, the information that appears in the newspapers, in which the number of pogroms is constantly growing, does not characterize the present situation. It is late news. In other words, in the course of investigations and from other operational data, we are uncovering more and more instances of vandalism, rioting, and robbery.

To date, the number of dead stands at 94. As for pogroms and fires, there have been 1,052 burned houses and other state buildings. A total of 984 people received physical injuries, including 137 servicemen of the internal security forces and 54 militia staff.

The heightening of tension has been caused by provocative acts and rumors spread by activists of the informal association (Berliht)—the so-called Unity association. These activists encountered due and timely resistance from the law enforcement agencies. Despite the measures taken by party and soviet bodies in the republic and oblast, the situation got out of control and became widespread.

Some claim that the internal security forces arrived on the scene late. This is not so. Immediately after the start of the events, about 700 internal security forces servicemen based in Tashkent arrived here to establish order and to ensure the safety of citizens in Fergana Oblast. But we were simply unable to foresee the scale, and with the forces available we were unable to prevent the tragedy that occurred over an immense area of the oblast. It was therefore necessary to call in, as a matter of urgency, additional forces and equipment from various regions of the Soviet Union: the Baltic area, Moscow, and the Ukraine. Only the concentration of 12,000 servicemen toward the end of 4-5 June and the introduction of a curfew enabled us to fully stabilize the situation, prevent the largescale beating and massacre of Meskhetian Turks, ensure their safety, and evacuate them promptly to a camp in one of Fergana's military units. At present we are completing their evacuation to three oblasts in the Russian Federation.

We are now closely monitoring the situation not only in Fergana Oblast, but throughout the Fergana Valley, since there is still danger both in Namangan and Andizhan Oblasts. This is also confirmed by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov's meeting with the Meskhetian Turks who are now located in Namangan Oblast. They are very anxious and appealed to Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov to see that the Soviet Government takes all steps to safeguard their lives and to create normal conditions for them to reside there. With this aim in mind, we are now sending units of the internal security forces into Namangan and Andizhan Oblasts to avert a repeat of the Fergana tragedy.

Of course, we will be unable to do anything without the local party and soviet bodies in Namangan and Andizhan, especially since they, knowing the conditions, embarked in good time on broad propaganda and ideological work, and other kinds of work, thereby somewhat relieving the tension that existed during the first few days. I think that the work they are carrying out will, with our help, generate positive results, and the tragedy of Fergana will not be repeated in those oblasts.

Shatalin on Curfew, Events

*PM1806175789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 17 Jun 89 First Edition pp 1, 6*

[Interview with Colonel General Yu.V. Shatalin, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Forces, by freelance correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Semenyaka (via the telephone) published under general rubric "On Events in Fergana": "Problems Remain"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] [Semenyaka] Comrade Colonel General, a curfew has been in force on the territory of Fergana Oblast for 10 days now. Has this—let us not mince words—grim measure been justified?

[Shatalin] Before I answer your question let me briefly recall how the situation developed. In late May and early June the situation began to deteriorate sharply in places densely populated by the Meskhetian Turks. An uncontrolled mob, incited by extremists many of whom were under the influence of alcohol or drugs, was staging fights in Kuvasay, Margilan, Tashlak, and Fergana and was resisting local militia organs. The fights grew into pogroms. There was loss of life, and a large number of people were injured.

In these extreme circumstances, in order to protect citizens' lives and restore order, the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a decree on the introduction of a curfew in areas densely populated by Meskhetian Turks in Fergana Oblast. The curfew came into force 4 June and operates from 2200 to 0600, local time. I can claim with the utmost certainty today that this enforced measure has justified itself.

[Semenyaka] Judging by what one sees, not everyone is aware of the requirements of the curfew. Could you describe or at least enumerate them?

[Shatalin] In connection with the introduction of the curfew, inhabitants are banned from staging demonstrations, rallies, assemblies, or meetings at any time of day or night; leaving their residences without identification documents if they are aged 16 or over; possessing firearms or flammable objects and driving any means of transport on the territory of the oblast without special passes during the restricted times; being outside their apartments or houses or moving freely in the streets between 2200 and 0600 in the morning without a special pass; verbally or physically abusing the people enforcing the curfew.

[Semenyaka] How do you assess the situation in the oblast at the moment?

[Shatalin] In the last few days no more deaths among the local population as a result of ethnic clashes have been registered, the number of attempts to set fire to residential houses has considerably decreased, there are only isolated instances of looting, and there have been no pogroms against public, administrative, or other buildings. The extremists have been isolated...

[Semenyaka] Does this mean that stabilization has set in?

[Shatalin] Unfortunately there are not enough reasons to claim this as yet. Fergana, Kokand, Tashlak, Margilan, and other population centers remain dangerous flash-points. Nonetheless, the establishment of the curfew service makes it possible keep the situation in all parts of the oblast under control. We are focusing our efforts on creating appropriate conditions, protecting the families of Meskhetian Turks, the indigenous population, and people of other nationalities against the encroachments of extremists, evacuating Meskhetian Turks from the region, working among the local population, and dealing with other pressing tasks.

[Semenyaka] What sanctions are being applied against curfew violators?

[Shatalin] Let me cite a few figures. The troops have detained 1,542 citizens for violating the curfew, and 364 people for hooligan behavior. Prosecutor's Office organs have instituted criminal proceedings in 30 cases involving interethnic crimes. Internal affairs organs have temporarily confiscated 7,565 items of firearms—3,302 from the population, and the remainder from schools, educational establishments, and organizations of the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy. Several dozen items of firearms were discovered by internal forces servicemen during inspections of motor vehicles.

[Semenyaka] Criminals are criminals and the serious nature of their bandit plans is, in my view, illustrated by the facts which you have cited. But what is the attitude of ordinary citizens to the restrictions that have been imposed?

[Shatalin] I will say this: Their attitudes are ambivalent. This is due to a lack of understanding on the part of some, and it is clearly deliberate on the part of others. Let me cite an example.

More than 200 inhabitants of the outskirts of Margilan and the center of Tashlakskiy Rayon were detained for violating the curfew when returning from watching the "Vremya" newscast at teahouses.

But there are also examples of another kind. While on patrol, cadets from the Higher Political School of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs saw how local inhabitants surrounded a man whose aggressiveness seemed out of tune with his meticulous appearance. After clarification it emerged that he lived in one of the villages of Ferganskiy Rayon. Witnesses recognized him as an active participant of the events of 3-4 June. And so the vigilance and civic courage of the citizens, and also the actions of Senior Lieutenant I. Romashko and Cadets V. Yudin, A. Karyushin, and others helped to expose one of the organizers of the disturbances.

In general I must say that the servicemen and internal affairs organ staffers are displaying great self-possession and presence of mind when detaining extremists.

The internal forces servicemen and militiamen are acting in strict accordance with the law. Whenever it has been at all possible to proceed without recourse to arms, they have done this. The use of arms is an extreme measure. It is used only when all other precautionary efforts on the part of people in official positions have failed to bring the attackers and pogromists to their senses and when their actions clearly threaten the lives of servicemen or other citizens. I will say that as a result of the use of arms 4 people have died and 7 people have been wounded. The servicemen's actions have been deemed legitimate by Prosecutor's Office organs.

[Semenyaka] The newspaper's readers want to know whether units of the Soviet Army are taking part in the establishment and maintenance of public order in Fergana Oblast?

[Shatalin] No. These functions have been entrusted only and exclusively to USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs forces.

Oblast Head on Fergana Unrest

LD1706182189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] [Ptashnikov] I would like to note with satisfaction that reports coming from Fergana and Fergana Oblast show that in the last 24 hours no serious violations of

public order have been registered there at all. We have already reported that at the beginning of our program. Our special correspondent Yuriy Gordeyev is in Fergana. He interviewed Shavkat Mukhedonovich Yuldashev, first secretary of the Fergana Oblast party committee of Uzbekistan:

[Begin recording] [Gordeyev] How do you evaluate the situation in the oblast now?

[Yuldashev] It is difficult to describe the situation at the moment in simple terms. I can just say that the situation has stabilized, but tension remains. This is connected with the fact that we are actually dealing with a well organized, long-planned, and, I would say, not badly prepared action, either materially or financially, of a political nature aimed at destabilizing the situation not only, and not so much in our oblast, as in the republic as a whole.

[Gordeyev] Shavkat Mukhedonovich, did these events catch the party organization, the oblast one, off guard? This opinion is being expressed in certain circles.

[Yuldashev] It must be said frankly that the party and Soviet bodies, the internal affairs (?services), and the state security committee practically all turned out to be unprepared for such a development of events. There was absolutely no information that any sort of conflict or inter-ethnic dissension might arise between Uzbeks and Meskhetian Turks.

[Gordeyev] But thousands of people took part in the events. What factors did the bandits use to attract people to their side?

[Yuldashev] This question opens up another: Why was it in Fergana Oblast that these events started? A group of persons, corrupt ones in my view, (?in conjunction) with reactionary religious fanatics and criminals, began this process in Fergana Oblast and not another because the Fergana Valley as a whole, which includes Andizhan and Namangan Oblasts, is extremely backward in its social development. We have here tens of thousands of young people without work; the material and technical basis of health care is neglected, resulting in very high infant mortality rate. In our region—I am talking about the whole Fergana Valley—we have the smallest proportion of food products per capita. In addition, in the last few years the Fergana Valley has been so criminally—I am not afraid to use this word—crammed with petrochemical enterprises, and the ecological situation has become so difficult. The organizers of this provocation were clearly counting on all these factors playing a role in making the masses follow them—but they obviously miscalculated here.

People very quickly realized who was who. Now, and even in the initial stages, there were and are no soldiers in many rayons. The people themselves, communists in the first place—our veterans of the party, war, and

labor—mobilized their internal forces to fight these bandits. They opposed the illegal actions of the bandits, their attacks on party and Soviet bodies, their seige of the department of internal affairs with the aim of seizing weapons, their attempts to free criminal recidivists from prisons, their attempts to seize the Kokand railway station, and a number of large industrial enterprises. These actions by groups of armed bandit units showed who was who. People worked it out and worked it out very quickly. Now everywhere, throughout the oblast, they are opposing them. [end recording]

482 Arrested, 1 Dead in Curfew Violations

LD1706015189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0000 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] Now a report from Uzbekistan. According to information from the USSR Ministry for Internal Affairs the situation as a whole has remained calm over the past 24 hours. At the same time, there have been frequent cases of disobedience toward patrols during the curfew. In the town of Margilan weapons were used against motorcyclists who attempted to escaped in response to a demand that they stop. An unknown person was fatally wounded and died on the scene.

In the past 24 hours, 12 people have been arrested for various offences, while 482 have been arrested for violating the curfew.

More on Arrests, Violence

LD1706112189

[Editorial report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0030 GMT on 17 June carries a less than 1 minute report on the unrest in Uzbekistan. The report states that 482 people were arrested for violating the curfew and notes further that 2,886 people have been arrested in all.

Regarding the 'rumors' of excessive violence and of a large number of victims in Kokand, the Joint Military Department of the Judicial and Medical Commission of Experts announced that the mass disturbances left 23 dead, 14 of which are Kokand residents.

Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0800 GMT on 17 June carries a less than 1 minute report on the Uzbek situation, noting that the Soviet people are alarmed at what has developed in the region. It states that according to information provided by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the situation in Fergana, Namangan, Andizhan, Tashkent, and Samarkand Oblasts remains fairly complex. According to the broadcast, many thousands of Meskhetian Turk families are being taken to 'central oblasts' in the RSFSR by military aircraft. Internal troops are reportedly controlling the situation in Fergana and in other oblasts.

Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1000 GMT on 17 June cites a less than 1 minute TASS correspondent report from Tashkent that 60 Meskhetian Turk families

living on farms in Akkurgan Rayon of Tashkent Oblast returned to their homes today. The correspondent notes that the situation there is returning to normal, saying the lives of the citizens are being reliably guarded by militia and internal troops who are fully in control of the situation.

17 Jun Paper on Fergana Events

PM1806185789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 17 Jun 89 First Edition p 6

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Astafyev dispatch under general rubric "On Events in Fergana": "Why Did It Happen?"]

[Text] Fergana, 15 Jun—Last time I visited Fergana was exactly a month ago. Outwardly nothing seemed to indicate the approaching storm at that time. A cosy, green city, its inhabitants strolling unhurriedly down tree-lined shady avenues.... Then, all of a sudden....

Brief resume: By 15 June 95 people had been killed in the oblast; 1,010 people had been injured, including 137 internal forces servicemen and 57 militia staffers; 1,051 installations had been destroyed or burned down; 2,404 people had been detained for violating the curfew; 7,718 items of various types of weapons had been confiscated. Criminal proceedings had been instituted against 30 people. And 10,111 Meskhetian Turks had been evacuated from the republic. [resume ends]

But was it all of a sudden? It had long been known that the situation in the oblast, and even in the republic as a whole, was deteriorating. In an interview with TASH-KENTSKAYA PRAVDA, E. Didorenko, Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic first deputy minister of internal affairs, noted almost 4 months ago that reactionary forces were still strong in the republic. They are ready at any moment to stab restructuring, democracy, and glasnost in the back. Repeated appeals by citizens to various organs of power in Fergana Oblast about the fanning of unhealthy passions by individual inhabitants with extremist leanings should have served as a warning signal, should have, but did not.

Therefore when the pogroms, fires, and killings began in Kuvasay, Margilan, and Fergana, party and soviet organs and militia officials were—to put it plainly—not ready for this turn of events. And even with the arrival of militia forces and internal forces personnel from other parts of the country, it did not prove possible to quell the tension. Was this not because the hands of the representatives of the law-enforcement forces were tied by various restrictions during the first days of the tragedy? This would be understandable if it had been a case of democratic forms of protest by the local population against unresolved economic, social, or ecological problems. However, here it was plainly a question of overt banditry, violence, and looting.

So why, in whose interests, were the first sparks of tension hushed up rather than put out, thus contributing to the flareup of a major conflagration. After all, up to the very last minute the situation in the oblast was described in rosy colors and the impression was given that everything was fine. Addressing the aktiv in Andizhan Oblast 14 June, N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, stated openly and frankly: It has now become known that individual party and soviet officials took part in the pogroms. I would like to take those who supplied the bandits with gasoline and transport and treated the young thugs to vodka to the refugee camp outside Fergana. I would like to make them answer to the totally innocent people.

So who are they these "leaders," why have no names been named yet?

Questions, and more questions... How many of them are there in Fergana Oblast today. No one can provide a cogent answer to many of these questions as yet. For instance, why are certain circles stubbornly trying to give an ethnic slant to the events that have taken place? Addressing his compatriots the Uzbek writer Mukhammad Solikh has said: "How could this happen—how could representatives of two related peoples—Meskhetian Turks and Uzbeks—clash. Not just their language and their faith, but many other things tie them together. The indigenous population in Turkey refers to us as the Uzbek Turks, and to Uzbekistan as the homeland of their forefathers. The bulk of their forebears migrated to Turkey from our parts more than 1000 years ago. Turks and Uzbeks are two branches of a great nation. The Uzbek people formed from the ancient Qarluq and Kipchak tribes and the Turks from the Oguz tribe that lived in our parts. Are the two hostile factions which are attacking each other aware of this historical truth?"

The Meskhetian Turks have been living in Uzbekistan for more than 40 years. The multinational population of the republic extended a helping hand to them at a difficult time. All these years they have been sharing their joys and troubles. Even now when the situation in Fergana Oblast has become exacerbated, there are many Uzbek, Russian, Tatar, Armenian, and other families who have offered shelter in their houses to Turkish old folk, women, and children. So how can there be a question of ethnic strife between them? Who stands to gain from persuading the indigenous population that the Turks allegedly arrived here to have everything fall into their laps, and that they have seized lucrative and leading posts?

Brief resume: Prior to the events some 7,000 people worked at the 9 enterprises in Kuvasay, including 847 Meskhetian Turks. None of the latter was part of the management. Of 132 doctors in the health care system there was not a single Meskhetian Turk. Of the 1,250 people employed in the trade and public catering network 181 were Meskhetian Turks of whom none was part of the management. [resume ends]

So who has incited the generally peace-loving and hard-working people and egged them on to commit rash deeds?

Here is the story of Alavitdin Sattarov, chairman of the Lenin collective farm [kolkhoz] in Ferganskiy Rayon: "Toward 2200 on 3 June a mob had gathered on the central estate. They shouted: The Turks are after us, let's defend ourselves! Together with Teshabayev, the section militiaman, and Pulatov, the rayon prosecutor's assistant, we tried to allay their fears. But the people were agitated and frightened. They presented us with an ultimatum. We were to organize a meeting with Meskhetian Turks immediately to obtain guarantees that the peace would not be disturbed. I did not know the people who presented these demands, they were not from our kolkhoz. We reached agreement to hold the talks in the farm management building. We took four representatives with us and invited the most respected kolkhoz members from among the Meskhetian Turks. After a short conversation both sides swore on the bread that they would not create any lawlessness.

When we returned to the crowd, we noticed that people were even more excited, fired up by provocative speeches. No one was prepared to listen to us or the representatives. They demanded a direct meeting with the Turks. However, that was dangerous. I climbed on the militia vehicle and tried to explain why. Someone shouted: 'Get him!' and one of the bandits, I did not know him either, threw himself at me...."

Unidentified persons... There were quite a few of them at the flashpoints of the events. Moreover, according to eyewitnesses accounts, they were the self-same people everywhere. They tried to intimidate local people with all kinds of frightening rumors and instill hatred toward the Meskhetian Turks. They were the first to shoot and throw stones at representatives of the authorities and the internal forces, and then they hid behind the backs of others. It was they, threatening to resort to weapons, who made people set fire to the houses of their neighbors. Who were they and on whose orders were they sent to sow hostility among the people? That, too, is not known yet.

After the events assumed a major scale, sales of alcohol were banned in the oblast. Nonetheless there were still many drunk people in the mobs that gathered here and there. Who was supplying them so solicitously with drink, and from where?

The bulk of the rampaging mob was made up of young people aged between 18 and 25. They seemed to be most easily persuaded to embark on the dangerous path and have arms pushed into their hands. This is largely due to the fact that a complex situation has taken shape in the oblast regarding job placement for young people and the provision of leisure facilities for them. Why has no one given this some thought before?

Brief resume: The oblast's population totals 1,350,000 people; 235,000 people who are fit for work are not employed in the public production sphere, and 12,000 people are out of work. [resume ends]

"Some people have tried to compare the events in Fergana Oblast with the events in Transcaucasia," Colonel Ye. Nechayev, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Forces Political Administration, comments. "I was there at the time and now I am here. Therefore I can say with competence that this is not so. The actions here are more of a political nature. Under the guise of a struggle against intruders, a struggle for power is under way. It is being waged by antirestructuring forces, those who have lost official power, or feel that they will lose it, the bigshots of the shadow economy. No one any longer doubts here today that the strings by means of which events have been manipulated are in the hands of corrupt circles which have allied themselves with criminal elements."

"Whereas in Transcaucasia a great many rallies were held, leaflets distributed, and various slogans proclaimed, there has been nothing of this kind here," Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich went on to say. "However, the excesses and disturbances were well organized, you could tell that a skillful hand was at work. The events that took place in the various rayons all bear the same hallmark. In Transcaucasia there were killings and torture, too. But here they occurred on a large scale, were marked by fanaticism, and were accompanied by the burning down of residential houses, state establishments, and transport facilities."

The situation in the oblast remains tense. Resolute measures have been taken to restore order; the events which have taken place are being analyzed. However, many questions remain unanswered.

Brief resume: During the past night two fires were started; 656 people were detained for violating the curfew; 153 various weapons were confiscated. At Kuvasay a railroad truck containing goods for the refugees was set alight; 3,069 Meskhetian Turks were evacuated from the republic.

'Normal Life' Returns to Fergana

LD1706161689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] It appears that normal life is returning to Fergana. IZVESTIYA correspondent (Ardayev) reports from Uzbekistan: There are fewer armed soldiers and armored carriers on the streets and there are more pedestrians hurrying along peacefully. Almost all establishments and enterprises of the oblast center have resumed normal work, but the situation remains complex. A carriage carrying children's things, collected by the local population for the Meskhetian Turks, was burned on the railway lines at the station at Kuvasay. A fire was successfully

prevented at the cotton collection point. How did something happen for which there is no justification or logical explanation? In the correspondent's opinion, one of the main reasons was this: In an atmosphere of heightened national self awareness, attempts were made to kindle nationalist sentiments.

Ryzhkov, Chebrikov Return From Area

PM1606200389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Departure by Air from Tashkent"]

[Text] On 15 June N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and V.M. Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, left Tashkent for Moscow. They had visited Uzbekistan in connection with the events in Fergana Oblast.

Before their departure by air N.I. Ryzhkov and V.M. Chebrikov visited Tashkent's V.P. Chkalov Aviation Production Association.

At Tashkent airport they were seen off by R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities and first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, M. I. Ibragimov, chairman of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, and by G.Kh. Kadyrov, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers.

In the evening N.I. Ryzhkov and V.M. Chebrikov returned to Moscow.

'Hooligans' Still Active

PM1406113189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jun 89 Second Edition p 6

[Special correspondent A. Kaipbergenov report: "Source of Alarm. Events in Fergana Oblast"]

[Text] Fergana, 13 Jun—The attention of the whole country is riveted on Fergana Oblast for the 11th day. The riots of unprecedented brutality and duration are provoking the just indignation of Soviet people. I cannot recall such a wild rampage of mass brutality in the history of our state, which is founded on fraternity and friendship among the peoples.

I saw hundreds of vehicles and thousands of people today, as in the past few days, at the entry checkpoint of the military training center where the Meskhetian Turkish evacuees were massing. People brought string bags, suitcases, thermos flasks, and clothing for their friends and relatives (many people become related in 45 years of living together in one area) and simply for unfortunate strangers. They included many representatives of the indigenous nationality, especially many women. The events here are a calamity for all ordinary people.

A temporary mail office has been opened in one of the training center buildings. "We are providing the victims with all mail services free of charge," D. Dzhurabayev, chief of the oblast communications administration, said. "A reception desk for letters and cables has been organized at the airport from where the Meskhetian Turks are being evacuated." Unclaimed letters are fixed to the office window. Where are the addressees? I will give the address of the communications department for readers: Military training center, 712000, Fergana.

The rows of housing tents are unending, and alongside there are fires on brick or stone hearths, gas cookers in some places, and simple crockery. Children's underwear dries on the tent ropes. These are just ordinary people. But the mute reproach in their eyes is frightening: How could you allow this?

This is the third day in the evacuation of the Meskhetian Turks for temporary residence in central Russian oblasts. Some 2,948 people have been evacuated so far.

The following arrived at the military training center today for a meeting with the refugees: N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.M. Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and also R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities. The meeting lasted several hours. The Meskhetian Turks were informed of the steps being taken by the Central Committee Politburo and the country's government. The country's leaders listened to the refugees. I want to stress that the participants in the meeting themselves resolutely shouted down one speaker who said that the tragedy was the result of the policy of glasnost and democratization being implemented by the country's leadership. They said that the overwhelming majority of Meskhetian Turks are in favor of restructuring and that democracy must not be confused with anarchy.

"People have asked the question: Are the Meskhetian Turks guilty before the motherland?" N.I. Ryzhkov said. "We tell you that they are not."

The dialogue was hard. The head of the government announced that the Meskhetian Turks' temporary residential areas have been chosen in accordance with their own wishes and with the consent of local authority leaders. The Meskhetian Turks handed N.I. Ryzhkov an appeal.

All indications are that the tension is not abating in the oblast and that isolated excesses are continuing. Two houses and two kiosks were burned down yesterday. The number of tragic victims has risen. The remains of another three victims of the excesses of the first few days

were discovered on 12 June. According to official data, the casualty figure has reached 90. In the last 24 hours 261 people have been arrested for violating the curfew, 14 for hooligan actions.

I have just received an UZTAG report from Namangan citing the leaders of the oblast party committee staff: "The situation in the oblast and in Namangan city in particular is still tense. It worsens during the evenings—that is the time when the extremists organize their rallies. According to an up-to-the-minute report from the oblast executive committee internal affairs administration, the latest riots began on the evening of 12 June. A group of young hooligans—approximately 400—gathered in one area of the city. They began to shower passing automobiles with sticks and stones. Militia staffers resolutely curbed the hooligan actions.

Attempts to violate public order were recorded in 13 rayons of the city last night, where young people gathered in aggressive groups ranging in size from 50 to 500. The most active hooligans were arrested. The Namangan Prosecutor's Office is conducting an investigation.

Refugees Welcomed in Smolensk

PM1406120189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jun 89 Second Edition p 6

[PRAVDA correspondent N. Popinako report: "Smolensk Area Receives Refugees"]

[Text] Smolensk Oblast—Long-suffering people.... Tears flow when you see them getting out of the dark jaws of the "Ilyushin" transporters. Children in their arms, supporting old people, and carrying simple bags and baggage on their shoulders. People in Smolensk Oblast, where the first Meskhetian Turkish refugees from Fergana have arrived, are trying to envelop them in concern and attention right away.

"I have already issued invitations to 42 people," V. Levitin, director of Khislavichskiy Rayon's "Krasnaya Polyana" state farm, said without halting. "It's one big family headed by Aladin Bashagayev. It includes chauffeurs, welders, electricians, and construction workers... In short, workers. And our depopulated economic unit needs them..."

Another "Ilyushin" lands. An ill-assorted crowd surged onto the airfield. Some people were brought out on stretchers. Each aircraft is met by ambulances and by members of the oblast staff set up to provide the refugees with accommodation.

"Approximately 2,000 of them have arrived in the Smolensk area," A. Ivanov, chief of the staff and first deputy chairman of the oblast executive committee, said. "The rayon economic units should provide the refugees with accommodation and employment within 3 days."

Coming from the airport late in the evening, I telephoned V. Serykh, first secretary of the rayon party committee, in the ancient Russian town of Dorogobuzh. He and his colleagues had just returned from visiting rayon economic units.

"We have succeeded in accommodating 160 people," Valeriy Sergeyevich said. "Everyone who wanted to settle in our area. The victims are being given a wholehearted welcome. Everyone has been given a bath and a medical checkup. Housing has been found. Some temporary, some permanent. We are issuing clothing, footwear, food, and sugar, free of charge in the stores..."

"Everything has been done to make these people feel at home," L. Mamontov, chairman of the oblast trade union council, added.

How many times the wounded have turned to Russia, as if to their mother. How many times they have been able to rely on her compassion.

Article Previews Plenum on Nationality Issues

LD1706080989 Moscow TASS in English
0704 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 17 TASS—"The situation that has formed today in the sphere of inter-ethnic relations in the USSR is the result of an actual collapse of the command and administrative system," KOMMUNIST, a journal of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, writes in the article "National Self-determination—Concept and Realisation."

The article is published in this year's ninth issue of the journal under the rubric "ahead of the plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on refining inter-ethnic relations in the USSR."

Aleksandr Zharnikov, a staffer of the institute of Marxism-Leninism at the CPSU Central Committee, who wrote this article, believes that the Leninist principle of peoples' self-determination, which was proclaimed early in the 20's, remained to be a declaration and was not implemented.

The true reason behind the present realities in the field of inter-ethnic relations is that the "command and administrative system with its bureaucratic aggressiveness won in those years and the very life of nationalities was institutionalised...the development of any nation, large and small, inevitably falls in this case under the pressure of bureaucracy with its specific understanding of the tasks of the 'prosperity and rapprochement' of nations. The principle of national self-determination, while continuing to be officially declared, is inexorably turned into an eloquent slogan which nobody takes seriously any longer."

Certainly, there were undoubted successes in the sphere of nationality relations in the USSR, Zharnikov writes. But, in his view, they were achieved not thanks to but contrary to the obtaining situation. By and large, inter-ethnic relations were suppressed by the command and administrative system. Now that this system begins to collapse under the blows of perestroika, the self-same questions and problems are surfacing in social life, which in conditions of the administrative oppression were not manifest precisely because of the latter's existence.

"The command and administrative system, emasculating the principle of national self-determination, replaced it, as it were, not publicly but purposefully, with an 'elder brother' concept. It did this not without success.

"Today, this stereotype has outlived itself. But drifting away from it proceeds not easily and not infrequently painfully. In these conditions, the sins of the compromised system began to be linked by narrow-minded people to the 'elder brother', that is to be dumped on the Russian people who themselves suffered not less than others..."

"Therefore, completely dismantling the discredited system and also shedding old stereotypes are an indispensable condition of relieving much of the emergent tensions and further developing the country as a single multi-ethnic state."

Tokyo Television on Plan for Control of KGB

OW0606211989

[Editorial Report] Tokyo TBS Television Network in Japanese at 1347 GMT on 6 June carries, in its "News Desk '89" news program, a 3-minute report on the Soviet KGB. An unidentified TBS announcer begins by providing an historical introduction to the KGB, referring to historical popular novels about the KGB, as well as criticisms of the KGB at the Congress of the People's Deputies. The report ends with a recorded segment, lasting for approximately 20 seconds, of a NOVOSTI interview with Soviet KGB Chairman Vladimir A. Kryuchkov. The date and place of the interview, as well as identity of the interviewer, are not given. Video shows Kryuchkov talking with the interviewer across a table; he is occasionally heard speaking in Russian, with superimposed Japanese translation.

In his remarks, Kryuchkov makes reference to the old KGB, the KGB between the 1930's and the first half of the 1950's. He goes on to say that the KGB of today is different, although not ideal. He says that a plan is under study to control KGB activities within the Supreme Soviet, and this plan is welcome. Kryuchkov notes that the United States also has a committee which controls the CIA within the Congress, and the Soviet Union intends to learn from this. In this way, the Soviet people will have a better and broader understanding of KGB activities. The report ends with this brief recorded segment on the Kryuchkov interview.

Easing of Interethnic Tensions in Estonia Noted
LD1406132189 Tallin RAHVA HAAL in Estonian
6 Jun 89 p 2

[Article by Enn Siimer: "Have Interethnic Tensions Eased?"]

[Excerpts] From 28 to 30 May ideology secretaries of the Estonia Communist Party town and rayon committees met in northeast Estonia. [passage omitted]

On 29 May M. Titma [secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee] met the collective of the Baltiyets union-subordinated factory, which is located in Narva. I will begin the summary of this meeting not with isolated questions, but with the overall impression which was left from this meeting (and also the meeting of the author with the aktiv of the Estonian thermal power station). Because at the moment it is indeed the overall impression which seems to be the most essential, or rather, the substantial change in the mood of Russian-language collectives' attitude toward Estonia's problems. It seems that the tensions in interethnic relations have substantially eased. (One would like to hope that Vladimir Yarovoy's speech at the Moscow Congress on the issue of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact did not considerably alter the overall picture.) On the easing of tension, the first sign was already provided by the 23 May Intermovement meeting in Tallinn which gathered participants (including the curious) over 10 times fewer in number than the one in March. Even the speeches were now, apart from a few exceptions, considerably less militant.

Such calm was also felt in Narva. The Moscow Congress relays have been assisting this, for they demonstrate that all those acute problems which until now have seemed to be "plots of the Estonian nationalists" to the members of the Intermovement, have in fact been both on nearly everyone's minds and tongues everywhere across the Soviet Union, first and foremost in areas which are industrially more developed. [passage omitted]

Additional Details on Ural Railroad Disaster
18001193 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian 7 Jun 89 p 2

[Collection of articles: "Disaster"]

[Text] A powerful explosion caused by a breakdown in the nearby refinery product pipeline occurred on the night of 3-4 June at a section of the Chelyabinsk-Ufa railroad, as two passenger trains traveling in opposite directions, Novosibirsk-Adler and Adler-Novosibirsk, were passing each other. The disaster resulted in many casualties.

A government commission has been set up. Measures are being taken aimed at rendering assistance to the victims and cleaning up after the disaster. On the morning of 4 June, M.S. Gorbachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, A.V. Vlasov, D.T. Yazov, and Ye.I. Chazov flew to the disaster area.

On 5 June, mourning was declared in the country. The USSR Congress of People's Deputies interrupted its proceedings. The participants of the congress honored the memory of the dead, and expressed their condolences to their families, relatives, and loved ones.

This was hell. This is what correspondent of the newspaper VECHERNIY CHELYABINSK relates. He visited the area of the tragedy with the relatives and loved ones of Chelyabinsk who had just been seen off for recreation at Adler... Along with him, this sorrowful train carried the parents of students of senior grades at Chelyabinsk school No 107, who were given the opportunity to work and rest in the south as a reward after they passed their examinations successfully.

"Our train took about 11 hours to get to the area of the terrible tragedy," narrates the correspondent. "Time passed tortuously, slowly. All of us eagerly listened to the reports which were relayed at every stop and while the train was moving. They enumerated the names of children and adults who were sent to the hospitals of Asha, Ufa, and Minyar, and the burn center at Chelyabinsk. However, none of the relatives of my fellow travelers were there... The train came to Asha at 0500. Many had to go further, to Ufa. This is where the government commission is working. This is where the dead are identified. There were many, very many of them.... According to preliminary data, several hundred persons.... There was Asha. The picture before us was scary. The forest had been wiped out and charred by the whirlwind of fire over more than a kilometer. The most eerie thing was that the cars were mangled, covered with soot, and melted together. It is impossible to put one's impression of what we saw in regular words and epithets.

During these days, military units, repair crews, employees of construction trains are making historic efforts in order to restore the main line. As early as Monday, the first passenger train went toward Chelyabinsk.

However, the people are definitely most important.

All available resources, all means of transportation, including helicopters, were used for deliveries to hospitals. Hundreds of medical teams from Bashkiria, Chelyabinsk and Sverdlovsk Oblasts immediately arrived at the site of the tragedy. L.M. Rabchenok, deputy chairman of Chelyabinsk Oblast Executive Committee, narrates:

"We learned about the disaster at 0200, and our command post began operating in almost an hour. We managed to assemble everyone. We were lucky, all of

them turned out to be at home, rather than at second homes, or in the gardens. We flew immediately to the accident location. The medics deployed there swiftly."

The citizens of Sverdlovsk immediately held out a helping hand to the neighbors. Medical teams were put together within the very first day. After that, additional "landing parties" regularly flew to the accident site. However, the citizens of Sverdlovsk are not helping in "personnel" alone. Drugs in particularly short supply, disposable syringes, blood transfusion equipment—everything is given to save the lives of those who can be saved. More than 200 beds in specialized clinics in Sverdlovsk are receiving the victims. The entire country is helping...

We announce that at the Chelyabinsk Oblast Directorate of the Social Bank account No 700996 has been opened for the aid fund for victims of the railway disaster. [Signed] N. Zenova, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent for the Urals

At that tragic moment, two of our trains, Novosibirsk-Adler and Adler-Novosibirsk, met 60 kilometers away from Novosibirsk. There were about 1,200 persons in 36 cars which burned to the ground. Most of them were Siberians. Half of them were from Novosibirsk. These were our friends and relatives, our children traveling to the Black Sea.

This is yet another twist of fate: Local radio and TV hit us with reports on the tragedy on 4 June, at the height of City Day celebrations, when all of Novosibirsk poured into the streets and squares in a noisy holiday crowd.

The authorities of Novosibirsk notified the citizens after a small delay, and not because of concealment: during these several hours, a special commission and operational headquarters for collecting and processing data on the victims were set up. When people from the squares streamed into the headquarters, a maximum of available information was already awaiting them. One hour before the announcement on the radio, a special flight left Novosibirsk for Ufa with a team of physicians, drugs, and a group of the special commission, which at present maintains continuous contact with the headquarters, which operates around the clock. The lists of citizens of Novosibirsk who were rescued and are being treated in the hospitals of Ufa, Chelyabinsk, Kuybyshev, and other cities are made more precise by the hour. By 1000 on 5 June, there were 110 of them. By 1500, their number grew by 39. However, all of them are in serious condition. Dozens of those rescued died later in hospitals.

The relatives and loved ones of the injured gather at the headquarters, from where they are sent by special flights to Ufa and Chelyabinsk. By 1200 on 5 June, 176 persons had already been sent on 3 planes. More planes were being readied. Those from Novosibirsk wanted to take

some of the injured from the hospitals of Ufa on the very first special flight. However, the plane left empty. The patients could not be moved.

On Sunday and Monday, the operations headquarters experienced difficulties. There were a lot of problems which needed to be solved right away, and all of that to the sound of the moaning and wailing of the wives and mothers of the dead and wounded. However, the most frightening time for Novosibirsk is just beginning. The city is readying funeral teams, morgues, and cemeteries.

Right now, as you read these lines, planes are carrying zinc coffins to Novosibirsk and other cities in West Siberia. We in Novosibirsk should not be the ones to look for culprits in the tragedy. However, we are within our rights to ask: Who? Who has robbed us of our friends, relatives and children? We are rightfully demanding an answer, because we are burying them today.

Finally, the Housing and Social Bank of Novosibirsk has opened account No 700271 for aid to the injured and families of the victims.

[Signed] Ya. Samokhin, Novosibirsk

The collective of the editorial office, and the publishing and production association of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has resolved to transfer one day's wages to the fund for those injured in the disaster.

Casualty Statistics Updated

PM1406151989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 12

[IZVESTIYA special correspondents A. Zinovyev and F. Ivanov report: "Hope and Pain Interwoven"]

[Excerpt] Ufa, 10 Jun—A week has passed since the catastrophe. These are the tragic statistics: 308 bodies, including 67 children, have been recovered; 805 people have been hospitalized in the medical establishments of Ufa and other of the country's cities, of whom 114—including 28 children—have died during this time. Only 32 people in all have been discharged from the hospitals...

Terrible figures. Terrible but, we shall note, they are still far from final. In a single day—9 June—this was the result of a second combing of the area where it all happened (this is continuing with the participation of the relatives of those traveling in the two trains): Two more bodies and parts of a third, and many victims' belongings were found in a forest thicket, in a windbreak, and among the debris.

"We have come really close to the most critical point in the patients' condition," A. Potapov, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic minister of health, said. "With burns, this state occurs on the 7th, 8th or 9th day.

According to traditional international practice, with burns affecting more than 30 percent of the skin surface, in the first 3 days 12-15 percent of patients die from shock. From the 3rd to the 15th day up to 50 percent die from toxemia. In the subsequent 2-3 weeks up to 35 percent die from infected wounds and pneumonia. In this case we have half as many of these tragic results. Nonetheless, the tension and anxiety experienced by us all are not abating. We are forming new groups of injured people to be flown to Moscow and Saratov medical establishments... [Passage omitted]

Gas Pipeline Fire in Moldavia Reported
18220142 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 7 Jun 89 p 4

[Interview with V. Konyubinskiy, chief of the Drokiya gas pipeline line-production administration, by A. Pasechnik, from Drokiya, Moldavian SSR: "This Time, Without Victims"]

[Text] In describing the tragedy in Bashkiriya in yesterday's issue, we mentioned another accident on a gas pipeline, which occurred in Moldavia at almost the exact same time. Our staff correspondent informs us of this event.

An enormous column of fire shot up over a segment of the Kremenchug-Ananyev-Bogorodchany gas pipeline on the evening of 3 June, at about 8:30. The compressor mechanism in the nearby rayon center of Drokiya registered a sharp drop in pipeline pressure, and automatically turned off the powerful pumping units.

[Konyubinskiy] The shift of operators, headed by dispatcher-engineer M. Pleshko, acted carefully and capably, in complete accordance with the instructions for accident situations. The main thing was that they quickly capped the damaged segment, and executed other actions necessary in such situations. As a precaution, traffic was halted on the railroad line which runs one kilometer away from the site of the accident. After an hour and forty minutes the fiery torch, which reached a height of 80 meters at the moment of the accident, went out; with complete safety guaranteed, the trains were allowed to run again. In rendering operations assistance, the collectives of other administrations of the "Priropatrtransgas" association set about eliminating the effects of the accident, which fortunately, did not claim any victims. Toward the evening of 5 June, we filled the pipeline, which had been capped for about 48 hours.

[Pasechnik] You said that there were no victims. But are there any guilty parties?

[Konyubinskiy] A special commission is investigating the causes of the accident. There are not any final conclusions yet, but a preliminary analysis indicates that scratches up to three millimeters deep were observed on the outside on the body of the pipeline which burst. This is exactly where the steel tube did not withstand the

enormous pressure. But where is this scratch from? Where it is from is quite clear: The scratch was made by a yet unknown excavator operator, who tore the pipe after it was laid. He scratched it and hid the fact, even though he most likely knew the full danger. Once again, our slipshod work, our negligence, our legendary reliance on "maybe."

Firefighting Efforts at Oil Rig Criticized
NC1406083189 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1600 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Text] As has already been announced, a fire broke out on one of the [word indistinct] oil and natural gas extracting platforms in the open sea at a point 140 km from Baku. The fire, which continued for 3 weeks, has been extinguished. The fire in one of the six highly productive wells was put out by large amounts of water pumped by [words indistinct].

The cause of the fire has not yet been established. However, the following is quite clear: The automatic fire extinguishing equipment on the platforms in the open sea and other means used for putting fires out are not effective enough. The fire precautions within the framework of the technology used for extracting raw material are not sufficient. The disruption of the system for one reason or another may lead to very serious results. On many occasions, experts do not comply with plans when platforms are being constructed or when they are supplied with equipment.

The country needs oil. However, attention must be focused on the safety of workers and on matters concerning ecology. This is even more important when those working in the Caspian Sea, who are among the leaders in the field in the Soviet Union, tap greater depths.

Minister Reveals 1957 Chemical Explosion in Urals
LD1606202289 Moscow TASS in English 1610 GMT
16 Jun 89

[Text] Chelyabinsk June 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko:

Fuel has been added to the fiery debates on the construction of an atomic power plant in the southern Urals as the public in this industrial city have learned about details of an accident that occurred thirty years ago but had been kept secret ever since.

The local press carried an account of a news conference by First Deputy Minister for Medium Machine-Building Boris Nikipelov who described a chemical explosion near the city of Kasli, 100 kilometers to the north of Chelyabinsk, in 1957 and its consequences.

A defence enterprise intended for developing atomic weapons was built in the southern Ural region. In September 1957, a tank containing radioactive waste exploded, forming a radioactive trail 105 kilometers long and 8-9 kilometers wide.

The discharge was about two million curies of radioactive elements (50 million curies were registered in Chernobyl). There were no casualties. More than ten thousand people were urgently evacuated from the contaminated zone.

The accident was never reported as it occurred at a defence factory. Economic activity had been restored over 80 per cent of the initially contaminated zone by 1978. The rest of the territory was turned into a reserve.

Losses from the withdrawal of land amounted to seven million rubles a year. 200 million rubles in current prices was spent to eliminate consequences of the accident.

The radioactive situation has been assessed as safe over the past 15 years.

Nikipelov said that the choice of the atomic plant site was not accidental. Indeed, some water reservoirs remained contaminated since 1957. The plant will evaporate water thus purifying the reservoirs. Besides, the area has specialists able to secure the future plant's safe operation.

An independent expert commission, now operating in the Chelyabinsk region, is to thoroughly analyse the power plant design and the degree of safety of its construction in the area.

Officials, Others Assess Congress Results

Lithuanian Deputy: 'Not Radical Enough'

PM1406143589 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA
in Russian 1 Jun 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with People's Deputy Kazimera Prunskene by SOVETSKAYA LITVA correspondent V. Mikhaylov: "Let's Be Optimistic"—no place or date of interview given]

[Text] [Mikhaylov] Esteemed deputy, many of our newspaper's readers are asking about the "amber" lady's opinion on the report by M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet....

[Prunskene] Let me say right away that I expected more. First, the report is like a review, and this is clearly insufficient for any quest for constructive solutions. I, for example, was unable to discern any substantial step forward in the direction of restructuring in, say, the economy—and I was especially hoping to hear something about that. And had you heard the report you would obviously agree that there really was very little specificity. But if we were now talking about the republic, especially about its

economic autonomy and republican economic accountability, the report makes allowances for a dialogue; it makes allowances for certain approaches and quite specific proposals by us. So far there is no ground for disappointment that our approaches and our proposals might be rejected. I personally am an optimist, and hope that our statements and our projects could gain the approval of, say, Gorbachev himself. All the rest in the report, such as, for example, the dismantling of centralized management, centralized planning, and state orders, and even what Mikhail Sergeyevich said about the correlation between the growth of labor productivity and wages, is not, in my opinion, so crucial to the economy as to deserve such detailed discussion. Especially since there are extremely diverse opinions as regards this indicator. Some experts believe that it is now the main brake on the quest for reserves and the reduction of production costs, that it applies the brakes on wages growth at enterprises, and creates totally different conditions for state enterprises as compared with cooperatives, and so on. Many producers now take a very critical view of the state of affairs. So I personally was disappointed by that part of the report.

Take, for example, the question of restructuring agriculture. It is obvious to everyone that the countryside needs more assistance, it needs more equipment, and so on. This is obvious. But look at the new organizational forms, for example. Some of them were mentioned in the report: how a collective farm is to be transformed into a cooperative of cooperatives, or how lease contract forms or family leasing should be expanded. I would say that this is already too late for Lithuania. Of course, the report is not aimed at Lithuania, but meanwhile we have already gone further; we are now preparing and, at the last session of the republic Supreme Soviet, almost adopted a Law on Peasants' Farms, not simply to bring the peasant closer to the farm or make him part master of it; we are talking about turning our peasant again into an effective master. This is why the things we heard at the congress were a repetition of our own experiences and, I would say, were not radical enough.

[Mikhaylov] In my view, the report failed to clearly emphasize the word "market...."

[Prunskene] The word "market" was heard once or twice. What we did not hear was anything about the way we would create this market, what obstacles have to be cleared along the way to the market, and how they are to be overcome.

This is why I believe it absolutely essential to speak out. I no longer run the risk of speaking "off the cuff," the way we are accustomed to speaking in Lithuania. I have drafted my speech in advance. It will deal with the republic's autonomy and the economic system within the country. I think that I will be backed by other economists, including Professor Antanavichyus, during the debate on N.I. Ryzhkov's report. I hope we will get a chance to speak.

I think that, after all, it may not be such a bad thing that our chairman did not dot the "i's" and simply mentioned and listed a whole series of problems. But now is obviously the time to come up with constructive proposals.

[Mikhaylov] One of the Lithuanian deputies with whom I had an opportunity to talk yesterday put forward the following hypothesis: M.S. Gorbachev spoke quite vaguely in order to avoid authoritarian and too rigid words to fetter and stifle others who disagree with him, so that the entire spectrum of opinions might be represented in the debate.

[Prunskene] I would very much hope so, and I would be very pleased if that were the case. Nonetheless, I would have liked to hear our chairman deliver a somewhat weightier report. Could it really be that this was simply a diplomatic move to generate a natural debate? I assume that Mikhail Sergeyevich will deliver a wonderful speech at the end of the congress. And he will dispel our disappointments.

[Mikhaylov] We voters have already seen for ourselves that our deputies do not find it all that easy to get to speak at the congress. What do you intend to do?

[Prunskene] It is hard to get the floor because time is being wasted to no purpose. As you have seen, some deputies deem it absolutely essential to mount the rostrum on simply any question on I don't know how many occasions. Of course, there are substantive statements, but there are also statements which I consider absolutely pointless. This is why we finally decided that the time had come to insist on our quota, starting right from tomorrow. We have been allocated three statements in the debate on Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's report, and we have drawn up our list: First Secretary Brazauskas, then Professor V. Landsbergis, and then me.

If a few more days were to pass in the same fashion, we would be virtually deprived of an opportunity to express our viewpoint. And you have heard that some delegations bluntly requested: Let us hear the Baltic economists, because everyone knows that we have our own viewpoints on transforming the economy.

[Mikhaylov] What does the Lithuanian delegation do in the time not taken up by congress sittings? Our readers are extremely interested in this question.

[Prunskene] First of all, I met Moscow deputies and economists from the Moscow Deputies' Club on several occasions even before the congress. Speeches at that club are delivered in the presence of representatives from different republics, who afterward frequently approach one another in the breaks and in the evenings and want to chat. It is very good that the auditorium has little signs along the rows—that is very convenient; if necessary, any delegation can be easily located. Deputies simply come up to you and want to consult you.

There I was recently, on Sunday, totally unable to get down to the text of my speech because people kept telephoning or calling to see me. The Armenians came along, one Buryat came along regarding economic reform.... We examined together the opportunities which the republic will enjoy when it switches to economic accountability. It was even interesting to construct a model of how, for example, an autonomous Buryatia could exist, what it could sell to us and what we could sell to it, what would be the likely mutual relations in trade when they were established not through the center but directly....

Our contacts are not just a matter of help: I think that they will contribute to the understanding of everything that is happening in the Soviet Union today.

[Mikhaylov] Have you been to any of the rallies being held nowadays in Moscow?

[Prunskene] I have not been to the rallies, but not because I am afraid to take part in them, as people might think, or because I am afraid of addressing large audiences. It is simply a matter of more important and more meaningful work. Now it is no longer a case of convincing voters, it is a case of convincing deputies. Tonight, for example, we watched movies about the events in Georgia.

[Mikhaylov] What was your opinion on leaving the Palace of Congresses after watching the movies?

[Prunskene] It was probably noticeable even on television that the deputies' corps was split and diverged in opinions regarding the events in Tbilisi. We noticed many deputies eagerly applauding Rodionov. This makes their position clear. Obviously they perceive violence against the population as routine. I think that this is due to the stance of people who believe that force is needed to protect their quiet life, to protect status, to protect positions.... Deputies who did not go through elections like the ones in our republic strive to ensure that everything runs smoothly; they are the ones who approve of the fact that the Army was called in and that there was violence against people. While the movie was being shown, some deputies were pleased when they came across some excuse to somehow justify the Army and those who gave the orders. The statements in favor of Georgia's sovereignty and autonomy, for example, provided just such an excuse.... On leaving the hall we still held the opinion that this had been violence against people. A struggle against ideas can be waged only by means of words, ideas, and persuasion, not with tanks and sapper's shovels.

[Mikhaylov] What do you intend to do in the next few days?

[Prunskene] I have a few points to make regarding the composition and structure of commissions and committees whose list was distributed among us at the start of

the congress. The point is that, in my view, this list contains a lot of superfluous matter. For example, commissions on invalid affairs, on young people, on consumer goods—in other words, questions which ought to be resolved at republic level, at local level. But questions like economic policy, the union market, or the union's political system must be resolved right here. This is why the Muscovites and we are now drafting appropriate proposals for the congress presidium.

I think that our main work still lies ahead.

First, we must go back to Lithuania with a specific evaluation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. We have already handed in an appropriate declaration. Second (I think that this is important for all of Lithuania's inhabitants regardless of nationality), we must secure recognition of our economic autonomy. We presented the presidium with a draft USSR law on union republic economic autonomy. I think that we are backed by Armenia, Georgia, and even many autonomous republics.

Our hope and mainstay are the Moscow and Leningrad delegations, the deputies from Siberia, Georgia, and Armenia—this is the potential and vanguard which can and must unite to elaborate specific proposals for the accomplishment of specific deeds.

[Mikhaylov] And yet enlightenment work must also be done among other deputies....

[Prunskene] A lot of time was unfortunately wasted during the first few days. We reproached the presidium with failing to provide opportunities for separate debates and to set aside premises for this purpose. After all, we could have discussed a lot and done a lot. I think that here we have a certain unwillingness, a lack of interest. On the other hand, for 1 and ½ months now the Moscow deputies have been engaged in very effective enlightenment work, inviting delegates from various republics. I have personally participated in several debates in the House of the Unions and the House of Political Enlightenment.

I am convinced that all is not yet lost and that the main congress events are still to come.

Let us be optimistic.

Zaslavskaya, Yemelyanov on Results

*LD1406134389 Moscow World Service in English
1710 GMT 13 Jun 89*

[Excerpt] For 2 weeks the country closely followed the Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin. What did the Congress show? What were the results, and what should be done now? These and other questions will be answered by people's deputies.

First, a member of the Academy of Sciences, Tatyana Zaslavskaya says: There was evident confrontation at the Congress not only between the majority and the minority, not only on interethnic issues. The worst thing is to try to account this to confrontation between workers and intellectuals. The whole civilized world lives and prospers now primarily thanks to mental labor. To consider manual labor the supreme type of work and to view intellectuals as a suspicious social group and even a potential enemy, like before, it very dangerous, to my mind. The second was the confrontation of the learned and non learned, so to say. It was an attempt to set the majority of intellectuals against the scientists who allegedly doubt everything and look for something wrong. There was the confrontation between the military and civilians. There is also the confrontation of the apparatus and the people. And I wanted all these aspects to be reflected in the resolutions of the Congress. The nation is now waking up. People are now reaching out for real power, that has been promised to them a long time ago. But I'm convinced that nothing is going to change without everyday struggle, everywhere. Nothing will be handed down from the top.

What does Tatyana Zaslavskaya think is going to happen tomorrow and the day after tomorrow?

I don't believe in revolutionary changes coming from the top. The initiative should come from grassroot level. As the Congress made such a great impact on the people—and we can judge about this by the letters, telegrams, and meetings in the streets—I think the greater temperature of public life will benefit perestroika.

Does Tatyana Zaslavskaya think the congress was a step forward in consolidating all perestroika forces?

Without doubt. The radical deputies realized that they should not simply declare but convince people, and those who were opposed to radical solutions at the beginning of the Congress realize that our problems are acute, (?bare) and interconnected.

Is a further economic decline inevitable in this country?

I think that a slide can be prevented by a number of cardinal, radical steps proposed by many deputies of the Congress. However, it is probable. Our system is characterized by great inertia, and it will take a long time to put it in motion. That's why it's very important that it start moving before there appears the danger of a collapse.

And here is the opinion of Moscow University Professor Aleksey Yemelyanov: I wouldn't dare say that the Congress fully reflected public opinion. It was not fully reflected even during the election campaign, though then it was more evident, of course. But the higher the step we climb, the greater the gap masses want. That's why we must constantly study the opinion of the people. Besides indirect contacts—I got a great number of letters and

telegrams—I met my voters every night after the sessions. Now we think of forming self-government committees in neighborhoods. During the congress my voters often told me: They have twisted your arms, haven't they? As a rule, they meant that the Congress paid much less attention to concrete, practical questions of our life than the people had expected. The public also noted the attempts to make the Congress function in the old, established way. In such cases I had to explain my opinion, and my opinion is such that, despite all its faults, the Congress laid the first stones in the foundation of popular government and showed the road to it. In this respect the Congress played a unique role. [passage omitted]

'Test' for Future Leaders

PM1506083689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jun 89 Second Edition p 2

[A. Chernyak, A. Chernenko article: "Examination of Suitability To Exercise Power. Candidates for Highest Posts in our State Took It in Public"]

[Text] Nothing like this has ever happened before in the course of our history. Statesmen stood on the country's highest rostrum and took an examination. Publicly, before the eyes of the whole country. One by one, candidates for the posts of head of state and his deputy, chairman of the Soviet of the Union, the Soviet of Nationalities, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the People's Control Committee, and for the USSR Supreme Court, USSR chief state arbiter, and USSR prosecutor general mounted the rostrum....

This fact alone is noteworthy. Everyone was able not only to see but also to judge the statesmen. In renewing our socialist home and moving forward we are returning to and further developing Lenin's creative legacy. Vladimir Ilich said more than once that everything hinges on the selection and placement of cadres. For many years we parroted this slogan; today we are giving it real substance. Before our very eyes restructuring, in restoring the values of October, has "broken through the vast mass of the years" and the ferroconcrete of stereotypes which took shape during highly complex, highly dramatic decades.

Yes, we are able once again to see for ourselves—not in theory but in practice!—the power and vitality of the charge inherent in Ilich's ideas. However, that does not mean that now, when we are giving Lenin back to society, when the Congress of People's Deputies has turned into a real triumph of the Leninist concept of the democratization of society, that the bastions of communist arrogance ["komchvanstvo"], bureaucracy, and cliquishness will collapse of their own accord, leaving the road clear for further creative work by the party and the people, for the full development of society and its future progress. It has emerged that the desire and striving for renewal alone are not enough. That paramount importance attaches not to emotion but to competence. And

that competence is not just the product of specific knowledge and professional know-how, but is a synthesis of the experience of the professional with the experience of the politician and the soul of the citizen.

In this context the fact of the subjection to "scrutiny" of M.S. Gorbachev, A.I. Lukyanov, Ye.M. Primakov, R.N. Nishanov, N.I. Ryzhkov, G.V. Kolbin, Ye.A. Smolentsev, Yu.G. Matveyev, A.Ya. Sukharev, and others, which took place before the eyes of millions of voters, is of extraordinary importance. Scrutiny under conditions of glasnost! It is obvious that viewing this absolute glasnost as some kind of "TV show" would mean devaluing the real fruits of restructuring....

Here are the notes from our journalist notebooks, which are almost a stenographic record. N.I. Ryzhkov is on the rostrum. Deputy A. Dzhanasbayev (Dzhezkazganskiy Territorial Okrug No 627) addresses him:

[Dzhanasbayev] Nikolay Ivanovich, do you believe that the country's economy can improve in the course of a year? And what steps do you intend to take to this end as the future chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers? [Dzhanasbayev ends]

This question appears to be a general question only at first glance. Behind it there is an obvious need to assess the competence of the "premier" and his political strategy and tactics. What will he say? Will he resort to the usual promises? Will he try to evade the answer?

"It is necessary to take a realistic look at the situation," Ryzhkov replies. "I cannot promise that radical changes will take place in the country's economy in the course of a year. I believe that over the coming year certain changes for the better will take place in our consumer market, that is to say, certain positions in our economy will improve. However, to solve all the problems which currently exist in the country as we go along—and we have been discussing this for days at the congress—is impossible. Time and more time is needed for this. It is necessary to advance step by step, and gradually to eliminate the existing problems."

G. Safiyev from Tajikistan wants to know how much longer we are intending to engage in gigantomania. She cites the construction of Rogunskaya Hydroelectric Power Station as an example.

N.I. Ryzhkov replies that he is opposed to gigantomania. As for the Rogunskaya hydroelectric power station [GES], and the power industry in general, it is a fundamental question. At the moment many people are opposed to the development of the nuclear power industry. The construction of a number of nuclear power stations has been suspended. This means that it is necessary to develop hydroelectric power stations. So far we are using only 20 percent of our potential in this sphere. In the United States

the corresponding figure is 44 percent, and in Switzerland 65 percent. We must develop our power industry. The candidate believes that this problem should be submitted for nationwide discussion.

Yu. Sokolov, L. Veyser, L. Matyukhin, and others put questions to the future "premier." Everyone receives a detailed answer.

However, the examination does not end with this. Deputies "present assessments." Each one expresses his own opinion. Some state frankly that they will vote for N.I. Ryzhkov. Others are not afraid to state that they will not give him their vote or that they will abstain. And so there are two stages. After all, most of the candidates for top state posts had to pass the examination twice, first during the discussion of their candidacies in the Supreme Soviet and then during their endorsement by the congress....

Naturally, our first experience is not perfect. But we believe that it is a good experience. Marx and Lenin were acutely aware of the danger presented by bureaucracy with its main weapons—the adoption of decisions behind closed doors and the representation of group and personal interests as the interests of the state. Incidentally, when assessing the brief but very graphic experience of the Paris Commune, Engels wrote that one of the tasks of the working class is to be able to defend itself against the official whom it itself has elected. This is why absolute glasnost in the election of the top leaders of an essentially truly elected parliament marks a radical breakthrough toward living Marxism, toward dialectics purged of the dogmatism on which the politicians' bureaucratic "entourage" fed for so many years.

Naturally, it was not just N.I. Ryzhkov, A.I. Lukyanov, Ye.M. Primakov, G.V. Kolbin, and R.N. Nishanov who were being tested. We, the voters, whose will set in motion the whole long chain of elections—from the deputy to the "president"—were also taking an examination. The very concept of restructuring linked with the resuscitation of public awareness and people's activeness was put to the test. And so was our socialist democracy.

It was not easy for those who mounted the rostrum. It seemed to us that G.V. Kolbin's "examination" was marked by tension. And although he had shouldered a very heavy burden in the Urals, in Ulyanovsk, Georgia, and Kazakhstan, and acquitted himself with honor, Gennadiy Vasilyevich was tense. What he was facing was the "glare" of the policy of the present, and especially the policy of the future. Would the Kolbin experience be able to cope with the issues of this policy? Here lies the essence of the conflict-prone stances assumed by some deputies.

...Just over 6 months ago G.V. Kolbin and R.N. Nishanov sat at a PRAVDA "roundtable" together with the authors of this article without the least idea that a short

time later they would have to justify their claim to top state posts. We managed to find an interesting dialogue between these two men in the stenographic record of that meeting.

G. Kolbin: Our restructuring is bound to fail if we try to forecast its future stages with the help of yesterday's methods of analysis.

R. Nishanov: But we have no new methods of analysis as yet.... That is why we are lagging in a number of cases. In interethnic relations, for instance.

G. Kolbin: This is precisely why we do not have the right to wait for recommendations from the "center," from "on high." We have a right to social creativity. However, the right to creativity also means responsibility....

R. Nishanov: I fully agree. It is the lack of responsibility which engenders both sloppiness and the cunning policy of failure to adopt decisions on time....

At the time, the subject of discussion was the place of the politician in interethnic relations. And it seems interesting to us that the essence of those reflections did not suffer any distortion during the time which has elapsed. Both Kolbin and Nishanov remained true to themselves even in the difficult situation of the examination of their aptitude for government by the Supreme Soviet and the congress.

G.V. Kolbin did not choose the path of conformism but defended the politician's right to sometimes adopt unorthodox decisions, something which evoked a very unambiguous reaction from his opponents in the legal profession who, it seemed to us—carried away with objections to a number of Kolbin's views on this right—threw out the baby with the bathwater by failing to take into account that the well-known "pleading guilty" campaign did not take place in Kolbin's office but in a court of law.

R.N. Nishanov, purely outwardly, of course, passed the test much more easily. Five votes "against," eleven abstentions, the rest "in favor." This is how the Soviet of Nationalities voted for its chairman. At the same time, Rafik Nishanovich did not compromise, but steered the boat of his candidacy through the intricacies of awkward questions and, despite all his diplomacy, displayed uncommon firmness on a number of questions which he judged premature. Judging by the reaction of PRAVDA readers, they were largely won over by the self-control of the leader of the Uzbek Communists—after all, it was not easy to conduct a dialogue with the floor against the backdrop of the latest events in Fergana. Incidentally, R.N. Nishanov avoided being vague in assessing these events, clearly defining the nationality of both the victims and the hooligan elements and giving a clear political assessment of the situation.

No matter how different these candidates are, they clearly share the courage to uphold their own views. We do not know for what qualities M.S. Gorbachev chose them, but when it comes to stepping up restructuring and implementing a strong social policy which has always suffered from a shortage of independent, determined people, then it seems the right choice.

A heated debate developed around the choice of the second deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union. The candidate to this post, N.M. Mgaloblishvili, an architect from Georgia, presented his platform with the utmost candor and without beating about the bush. It pleased far from everyone.

I will vote against him, one deputy said.

A colleague disagreed: I like Nodar Mikhaylovich for his candor. Other people would twist and turn in his place in order to get to the big seat, yet he comes out without equivocation. I will support him.

There was a long debate. Finally the question was put to the vote. Because of a hitch, another vote had to be taken. The chairman announced that N.M. Mgaloblishvili's candidacy had been rejected. Ye.M. Primakov stated that a new candidacy would have to be submitted for the next sitting.

The deputy chairman of the USSR Soviet of Nationalities did not get elected at the first attempt, either. After consultation with deputies, R.N. Nishanov proposed V.S. Venglovskaya, a weaver from Zhitomir, as one of his deputies. Subsequently the candidacies of Ye.A. Gayer, B.N. Yeltsin, D.N. Kugultinov, T.A. Minnulin, and K.S. Khallik were submitted. Then four candidates withdrew their candidacies and the candidacies of Venglovskaya and Gayer were put to the vote. However, neither managed to get the requisite number of votes....

We have asked a number of candidates who have barely had time to recover from this difficult interchange to express their views of this kind of public examination.

A.Ya. Sukharev: Having to pass through the crucible of cross-examination by deputies on the way to the post of USSR prosecutor general is a rigorous and very useful test of oneself and of one's ideas. It enables you to see whether or not you are lagging behind, whether or not you are lacking something, whether you are worthy of the burden that is being placed on your shoulders.... Yes, a politician must be worthy of his burden as a politician. Availing myself of this opportunity, I would like to stress that during the years of stagnation, the prosecutor's office did not just undergo deformation—it became unstable in the face of the onslaught of distortions. The oversight apparatus was extremely weakened, yet it is the cornerstone of ensuring the observance of the socialist rule of law. I have become clearly aware of this during the year I have spent at the USSR Prosecutor's Office, and the questions which were put to me during my

confirmation in the post, both in the Supreme Soviet and at the congress, have only strengthened my conviction that my assessment is correct.

We congratulated Ye.M. Primakov on having successfully passed the "examination".... I do not agree that I have already passed it, Yevgeniy Maksimovich objected. This has to be confirmed by objective indicators, so that everything is still ahead of me. It was not easy up there on the rostrum. Incidentally, it is never easy to change from one line to another. However, I have assured the deputies that I will do my utmost not to disillusion them.

G.V. Kolbin: I admit that I did not find it easy up on the rostrum. After all, it was necessary, without preparation, to answer questions, to explain oneself, to set out one's stance. I have never had to undergo such a test during a nomination to a post. It is extremely useful. In my opinion it should definitely be applied during the formation of the local soviets. And in the very near future ministers will be subjected to such a test.

...We live in complex times, times which sometimes contain a certain amount of drama. However, let us not forget what they have already given us. It is as if we had stepped over a line separating us from a qualitatively new stage of democratization, as if we had moved on from a preparatory course to a new course of politics. What is in store for us there? We believe that there will be both successes and failures.... However, the main thing is clear right now. There will be a tremendous amount of work. Work for the sake of public welfare. Our welfare, yours and ours, fellow compatriots.

'Necessary Lessons' Assessed

PM1406161189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 13 Jun 89 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Necessary Lessons"]

[Text] One would think that we will remember for a long time to come these days of 1989, which represent a turning point. We will remember the many hours spent in a vigil in front of our television screens, and the dramatic ups and downs in hitherto unknown parliamentary struggle. How long we have waited for the moment when the country's supreme legislative body would really assume the full weight of people's power in our country: in deeds rather than in words!

Yes, the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies has taken us to a new stage in the development of democracy, glasnost, and restructuring itself. Within the walls of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses there has been a free exchange of different ideas and views on key issues affecting the future of the country and all our peoples, which would have been unthinkable in the past. Lively debates have developed on procedural issues, the solution of which many deputies regard as a guarantee of a really democratic Soviet parliament.

That is why we will long remember the keen polemical speeches, the excitement of waiting for the results of a vote, and the relief when a compromise was reached which resolved yet another conflict.

We will also, unfortunately, remember the disappointing episodes, which demonstrated a clear lack of political sophistication in many deputies and, to put it mildly, their unique interpretation of pluralism and glasnost. One gets the impression that many in the auditorium were not so much interested in constructively seeking a solution to a crisis situation as in looking for an opportunity to demonstrate their "active stand" to the voters by leaping onto the rostrum.

If we were to admit it, was this not shown by the lines of deputies waiting to take the rostrum, particularly if you consider that every second person sometimes repeated the ideas previously voiced by another speaker? Or by the deputies who, finally gaining access to the microphone, raised issues which had absolutely nothing to do with the question being discussed? Or by the use of strident, offensive labels, which certainly did not contribute to consolidating the congress in the name of constructive decisions, which millions of Soviet people were so expecting from their elected representatives?

We will be frank: By no means all deputies successfully passed the moral test of their ability to listen to others' views and assess them, their tolerance of opinions different from their own, or their modesty and ability to see themselves through others' eyes.

We also saw the other side of the coin, however: people's attempt to impose their viewpoint on deputies at all costs. An example of this is the speech by Academician A.D. Sakharov at the closing sitting. He was given the floor at the congress more than once—out of respect for his services—sometimes at the expense of other deputies. After all, representatives of the Union of Theater Workers, the Union of Journalists, and some other social organizations were not given the right to expound their views. Assuming a monopoly on the truth and voluntarily stating his special rights, the academician abused the patience of the presidium and the whole congress more than once. And the defiant reluctance of this USSR people's deputy to rise together with the rest of the hall during the national anthem is completely beyond comprehension! It is not hard to imagine how this "boldness" would be viewed in the parliament of any other civilized state.

In short, there is much to think about, for deputies and for us, the voters. The phrase "we are still only learning democracy" has become popular. As far as we remember, however, this school also has its own clear-cut rules. It is not allowed, for example, to insult or snub the teacher. And even if you know the lesson, you are not

allowed to walk up to the blackboard before you are asked. Incidentally, as specialists rightly claim, only the student who sincerely wants to learn can increase his knowledge at school.

The first television lesson for millions has come to an end and, as a whole, it has justified our expectations and laid the foundations for a new quality of socialist system.

We would agree, nevertheless, that not everything demonstrated in this lesson is worthy of emulation. We will draw the necessary conclusions, because that is the only way our collective search for a better future can bring the long-awaited real results.

'Civic-Mindedness' Needed

PM1406153589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Vladimir Nadein article: "The Congress and Our Hopes"]

[Text] "Surely, after such a congress, we cannot go on living like before?"

The first time I heard this question was at the IZVESTIYA printing plant typesetting shop, on the third day of the Congress of People's Deputies. At that time the newspaper's issues were double the normal size. Not a single line came from stock; everything was typeset for the specific issue. There was a shortage of space, and the pace was mind-blowing. But even so, by some miracle the pagemakers and typesetters somehow found a couple of spare moments to rush to the television set in the corner, and managed both to watch and to comment. Of course, nobody reproached them for taking these brief breaks. After all, it was not some show being relayed. History was in the making.

The congress carried on its work, and I kept hearing more and more often—in trolleybuses, at rallies in Luzhniki and Pushkin Square, in the editorial mailbag, and in my own home—that same question: Surely things can no longer remain as they were?

One would like to exclaim: No! The emotional hypertension of these two unprecedented weeks seeks an optimistic release in hope and faith. At long last it must be our turn to celebrate! We have, after all, waited too long! Fair enough; a lot of what we did was wrong. But are we really hopeless? Maybe we were foolish in our treatment of the land that feeds us. But the largest area of plowland on the planet is still in our possession today. Yes, we squandered the mineral wealth and ultimately lost a lot. Nonetheless, there is hardly a nation that can compare with us in terms of its quantity and diversity. It is true—and also a great hindrance—that 40 percent of machine tools and equipment are totally worn out. But we still have 60 percent, and this percentage represents real might.

Summing up everything, even the most contradictory statements by deputies, here is a conclusion to which there will be no objections: It is not a matter of the circumstances surrounding us. It is a matter of our own selves.

Has the congress helped us to realize what we are today? Yes, and this is probably its most important result. Never before have our society's problems been discussed in such depth, so comprehensively, and with such openness. Glasnost, which many felt to be a rather dangerous price to pay for awakening the masses from their slumber of stagnation, once more proved its constructive force incontrovertibly and graphically. Advance is impossible without an accurate knowledge of society's state. Leaders are blind and dangerous if they do not know what those whom they lead want and what they strive for. But knowledge of the real state of affairs in society can be gained only from free people.

There was a clear line dividing the deputies' appraisal of the government's foreign and domestic policy. Its initiatives in the international arena earned deserved general approval. Its actions inside the country were subjected to sharp criticism. Moreover, this applied to both concepts and individual practical measures.

Unfortunately, there was no comparative analysis to be heard from the congress rostrum. Deputies restricted themselves only to correctly stating that our foreign policy was purposeful and consistent, while domestic policy suffered from the lack of precisely these merits.

But why did this happen? What were the objective causes which produced such a diverse determining influence on actions by one and the same group of political leaders?

Even if only indirectly and obliquely, rather than directly, the congress hints at the answers to this complex question. Namely: The best foundations for advance are provided when none of the alternative options can be declared right or wrong out of hand, when relations of partnership triumph in everything, when the security of each is a condition for the security of all.

In this context, let us recall the departure from the hall by part of the Baltic republics' delegates during the vote to elect the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee—an unprecedented occurrence, and therefore very painful to many people. Let us say right away that such a demonstrative refusal to vote is an exceptional event only for us. In the world's parliamentary practice, such behavior by a minority which obviously has no chance of success in a vote is a traditional method which is rooted deep in history.

The important point for us in this case, however, is not the method but the result. And the result was a practical and farsighted compromise which led to the creation of a highly professional Commission for Drafting the USSR Law on Constitutional Oversight. This is certainly not a

sidestep, let alone a step backward, in the establishment of meaningful federative statehood. Taking the acuteness of the nationalities problem into account, this will make it possible to rule out any likely suspicions within the republics and, at the same time, it will cut the ground from under the feet of those who—not altogether unintentionally—take advantage of any reticence to fuel mistrust in the “center.”

“We are still unaware of the total wealth of forms in the society toward which we are moving,” M.S. Gorbachev said in his closing speech. And in that same speech, nearer to the end: “...a hard but nonetheless clear path lies ahead.” Are there not signs of contradiction in these statements?

Since we increasingly often treat leaders' statements as sacrosanct exhortations liable to be unthinkingly learned by heart, this question does not appear far-fetched. The answer is important in order to define political leadership methods and to make people realize which path will lead them to the bright future. History has taught us that indifference toward methods often leads to distortion of goals.

So where is the clarity of the path to be found? Many deputies emphasized that it does not lie in solemnly proclaimed data about free travel on suburban electric trains, or about overtaking America in terms of meat and milk supplies. It lies in consistent adherence to the course which has been named restructuring. (As a matter of fact, today it is also clear that this word is more of a tribute to the prevailing political vocabulary than an exhaustive definition of the lengthy period we will need to return to civilization.) And if we bear in mind that, as M.S. Gorbachev declared, “restructuring itself has never been and never will be a closed zone for criticism,” the clarity of the path acquires finite outlines: A well organized and effective system of people's power can be created not “for the people,” not “with help from the people,” but solely and exclusively by the people themselves.

Sociological studies conducted in some major cities during the congress also demonstrated the universal interest in its work and the relatively low hopes of its effectiveness. The number of those who expressed confidence in real positive changes after the congress never once exceeded the 50-percent mark.

Even though these moods are very volatile and can change sharply in either direction in the course of future events, it would be frivolous to altogether overlook the certain amount of dissatisfaction which has developed within society.

The fact that, in principle, it is impossible to avoid disappointment stems from the very existence of alternative approaches and opinions. Voicing their voters' views, deputies often expressed such mutually exclusive positions that support for some automatically produced rejection of others.

This is an objective obstacle. But there are also other causes serving as sources of the effect of disappointed expectations. First, a society oppressed by poverty and growing shortages contains quite a few people who waited with bated breath for the congress to produce material benefits—pension or wage supplements, a one-shot “outpouring” of consumer goods, “import” promises, finally.... Second, a considerable proportion of deputies (were they not the ones demanding an end to television coverage?) rather frankly displayed their comprehensive lack of preparedness to fruitfully participate in legislative activity. Of course, any complaints in this regard ought to be addressed to imperfections in the electoral system, but any disappointment was addressed to the congress.... Third, being human, it is easy to understand that the provisional Standing Orders are imperfect, that procedures are not yet fully worked out, and that group and personal ambitions gave rise to more general doubts about the congress’ ability and willingness to opt for the difficult quest for compromise rather than primitive and fruitless diktat by the majority.

History dislikes giving guarantees. And the congress offered no room for peremptory prescriptions. The load of problems was heavy, and the debate produced serious arguments by both optimists and their opponents. Were deputies right in demanding “cut the cackle and get down to work?” And is it altogether possible to expect action from a meekly silent parliament? It is not hard to understand the nostalgia for visible and tangible materiality. But social changes cannot be touched and felt. The special position held by the congress in our life, and its foreseeable influence on our future, are determined by the mighty impetus it gave to accelerating the maturity of a civic society. Following such an event, it is no longer possible to proclaim, as in the past: The goals are clear—it used to be said—the tasks have been set, down to work, comrades! We have had our consultations and made our decisions, it was said, now it is your turn to fulfill the plans....

Everything is exactly the opposite today. Despite the totally irreplaceable value of conscientious labor, neither the establishment of personal and national freedoms, nor the guarantee of social justice, nor the improvement of production relations—to put it briefly, not a single one of the avenues of the process of democratization—ought to be frozen or slowed down just because the congress has ended its work.

A great deal now depends on each and every one of us. Two weeks ago we were attentive viewers, readers, and listeners. Now that the people’s deputies have gone back home, they must see and hear us. And the answer to the question that perturbs everyone—surely, after such a congress, we cannot go on living like before?—will depend on the way we continue this congress, on whether we will manage to switch from the pleasant state of onlookers to the difficult condition of civic-mindedness.

Army Paper Views Lessons

PM1506090389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 13 Jun 89 Single Edition p 1

[Editorial: “School of People’s Power”]

[Text] So the USSR Congress of People’s Deputies is over. The full complement of deputies will now continue its work only in the fall. And the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet elected by the congress will continue after a short “vacation.”

What was it like, and what did it give Soviet society at a crucial stage in its development? I believe that it is too early to sum up the final results today, when the surges of emotions, feelings, and arguments have not yet subsided. One thing is clear: The congress was an historic, landmark event in the life of our country’s peoples, and a qualitatively new starting point in the course of restructuring.

The fire of democracy illumined at the congress the pains and difficulties of the country’s development, and all the negative phenomena that had accumulated over the long years of the personality cult, stagnation, and ostentatious well-being, and unanimity became twisted in its flames. In these purifying flames not only the deputies but also all working people and all of society were renewed morally and acquired a large degree of responsibility for the further deepening of revolutionary processes and for the fate of restructuring and socialism.

No, we have not had such a congress since the times of V.I. Lenin. For 2 weeks the eyes of Soviet people were turned toward the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. For 2 weeks we felt involved in what was happening in the sessions hall, felt for our elected representatives, and made our own suggestions and comments by telephone and in cables and letters. In short, it is possible to say without exaggeration that the whole country participated in the work of the congress.

The breadth and ambivalence of the problems tackled by the top organ of state power elevated this event to the rank of the greatest in the history of Soviet society. The report by M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and also the future government’s action program and their nontraditional discussion within the framework of democratization, glasnost, and the free comparison of views and viewpoints on the processes under way in the country, attest to the great potential of our political system, of our social system.

Many people’s deputies who, thanks to television, became at once famous (not even well-known actors and movie heroes have been able to hold on to this priority) brought to the congress rostrum big, constructive problems, a critical spirit, and freshness of thinking, but, most importantly, dissatisfaction with the state of affairs—in labor collectives, in regions, in sectors, and in the country as a whole. And we saw for ourselves, perhaps for the first time, that questions of big politics

can be resolved not only "at the top" but also by the people's representatives, by our elected representatives, for whom we voted in the elections. It must be pointed out that they themselves have also changed during the work in the Kremlin. And it is no longer hard to imagine that, after the experience acquired of parliamentary struggle, of the struggle for revolutionary renewal and for the demolition of the old bureaucratic command machine, they will not renounce their convictions nor allow themselves to be ordered about, as was the case with many previous deputies.

We all saw the congress throw up new leaders of restructuring, sometimes hot-tempered and insistent in their judgments, sometimes maximalists, but people firmly confident that it is precisely they who are essential to restructuring. When mounting the rostrum or waiting in line for it they raised their deputy's credentials, as though emphasizing thereby that they were asking to speak on behalf of their voters, on the people's behalf. They will continue to work in this way. This is why we can confidently state today that the congress was a guarantee of the irreversibility of the changes in society, a guarantee of real people's power in its highest echelons.

The openness of the congress made it possible to learn the general public's opinion of its work. Sociologists have conducted polls in a number of cities. The Kremlin and newspaper editorial offices have received and are still receiving a mass of letters. They contain assessments of the deputies' work. These assessments contain pessimistic tones too—they say that the congress has not justified hopes or adopted cardinal decisions. Of course, it is possible to understand these writers—they want to see changes for the better as early as tomorrow. And yet I believe that everyone will agree that the congress worked for restructuring. This is the chief thing. The hottest problems were aired there: problems of economic reform, ethnic relations, the population's food supply, military building, the position of pensioners, ecological instability, and others. The most important of the problems will find a practical solution in the congress resolution which is now at the stage of being finalized and will soon be published.

The congress took a significant step toward creating a rule-of-law state. The basic legislative organ—the USSR Supreme Soviet—will work permanently, the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman was elected, the head of government was appointed and approved, and the resolution "On Forming the Constitution Commission" was adopted. All these are very important decisions.

In the course of the debate the deputies gained a more complete idea of the real processes taking place in the country's life and of the sentiments of different sections of the population. The congress made it possible to see how restructuring is proceeding in life itself and how the political guidelines and the adopted decisions are being implemented, and to see what is in the way of the implementation of reforms—what is reducing their

effectiveness and slowing down or even simply applying the brakes to the working people's transforming activity. Without such knowledge it is impossible to resolve problems fruitfully, assess past work, disclose shortcomings, and draw lessons in order to take them into account when formulating policies for further progress.

Many of us military people pinned our hopes on the congress. Many urgent problems have accumulated in the Army and Navy, as in society as a whole. They were aired in a number of deputies' speeches. The makeup of the budget for military spending—R77.3 billion—and its upcoming reduction to reasonable sufficiency were announced for the first time. It was also pointed out that some of the money saved through a quantitative reduction in the Armed Forces will be spent on the social needs of servicemen and their families. The congress emphasized the need for the motherland's armed defense, for a qualitative improvement in its defense capability, and for a precise definition of the Army's functions.

There were no forbidden topics during the congress debate, whether it was the April events in Tbilisi or questions of the power of the soviets and the party's prestige at the contemporary stage of society's development. There was a thorough, principled discussion of an exceptionally important task in terms of its scale and novelty—to organically combine the efforts of a renewed soviet power and the political work of a renewed party in order to fully reveal the huge potential enshrined in the socialist social system.

The 2 weeks of the congress' work were a real school of people's power. As in any school, the deputies, you might say, mastered the art of political culture as they went along and overcame the surges of emotion and impatience, and even simply the desire to appear in a better light before their voters. Let us remember that these were just the first 2 weeks of work by the supreme organ of power, and that much still has to be learned in the future in this school of Soviet people's power. But let us not forget the most important thing too—the congress decisions. They have to be implemented, and to work!

Poll Shows Public Satisfied

*LD1406104189 Moscow TASS in English
1029 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Moscow June 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov:

Sociologists determined that the majority of Soviet people are satisfied with the work of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. From 60 to 79 per cent of the country's citizens, polled by scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Sociology, believe that the congress, which ended last week, addressed the most topical problems facing the country. The poll was conducted by

telephone after the completion of the work of the congress in Moscow, Leningrad, Tallinn, Alma-Ata, Kiev and Tbilisi. In each city it involved 250 to 300 people representing various strata of the population.

The questionnaire included the same questions asked by pollsters before the congress opened on May 23. The comparative analysis of the results of these two polls is a measure of how good the congress justified people's expectations. Before the congress opened, 46 to 63 per cent of the respondents believed that it would take decisions which will be extremely important for the fate of the country. After the congress, 22 to 59 per cent held the same view.

Asked if the congress justified their hopes, most respondents gave positive answers. However, there were also a lot of negative replies, namely 41 per cent in Moscow, 46 per cent in Leningrad, 49 per cent in Tallinn, 27 per cent in Alma-Ata, 43 per cent in Kiev and fifty five per cent in Tbilisi.

"It is quite possible that people overestimated by tradition the country's supreme legislature in the hope that it will solve all problems once it convenes," Valeriy Mansurov, an Institute of Sociology professor, says. The mass media also played a certain role forming exaggerated expectations, he continued. Moreover, ill-conceived and imperfect procedure sometimes led to a diktat of the majority, which also told on the feelings of the public.

In a greater measure the congress justified the expectations of people who thought it would reveal the positions of various groups of the population. If prior to the congress this conviction was voiced by 50 to 63 per cent of the respondents, after the congress this figure was as high as 57 to 81 per cent. The congress met to a lesser degree the expectations of those who hoped it would outline ways of solving economic, national and other problems.

At the same some respondents believe that the Congress of USSR People's Deputies made a decisive step towards creating a legal and democratic state. Only 21 per cent in Moscow, 34 per cent in Leningrad, 24 per cent in Tallinn, 17 per cent in Alma-Ata, 20 per cent in Kiev and 40 per cent in Tbilisi did not agree with that view.

Vorotnikov Meets Leningrad Deputies Before Congress
PM1406084589 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 20 May 89 p 1

[V. Chichin report: "Five Days to Go. How the Leningrad Delegation of USSR People's Deputies Is Preparing for the Congress"]

[Text] You get the impression that, against the backdrop of the television debates of the second round of the election campaign, interest in the deputies who have

already been elected has waned. The press is probably partly to blame for this—quite some time has passed since the report on their first meeting.

On the other hand, was there a great deal to report on the work of our elected representatives? They have met regularly, it is true. I managed to attend some of their meetings (thanks to the fact that they were held in the Leningrad Journalists' Center).

As a rule, around half the Leningrad deputy corps gathered. The lineup differed from occasion to occasion. There was hardly anyone who managed not to miss a single session. USSR people's deputies came from Moscow, Novgorod, Vologda...to exchange ideas. However, no matter what the lineup, the subject of discussion was essentially the same: issues pertaining to the procedure and agenda of the upcoming congress, and the elaboration of the deputies' proposals on these issues. Painstakingly, sometimes in the process of long arguments, the proposals were born point by point. In short, these were working meetings which are hard to report before they yield results.

Toward the end of last week the goal that we have been waiting for for so long was achieved: the draft proposals for the congress were ready. I, for one, find the "Leningrad package" extremely businesslike and realistic. However, since it is merely a draft which has, moreover, not yet been signed by all the delegates, its publication will have to wait. I hope that it will be possible to publish it within the next few days.

There was one more weighty reason which made a hasty publication of this document inadvisable. The Leningrad deputies had been promised a visit from a ranking and, what is more, competent guest from Moscow in the near future. The conversation with him, the deputies assumed, would give them an idea of the "official plan" [apparatny variant] for holding the congress, and consequently also an opportunity to reinforce their draft proposals, to formulate a platform which other participants in the congress could join.

The guest was V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium. The meeting with him took place on Tuesday in the White Hall of the Leningrad Soviet. The organizers of the meeting admitted your correspondent to the meeting only at the last minute (and even then only after insistent demands from a colleague, a USSR people's deputy). The only consolation was that BBC correspondents were admitted to the White Hall only after the meeting had ended. However, these are details. Let us come to the main point—what was discussed, and what the deputies gained from this discussion.

According to my estimate, some 20 people addressed the meeting, some of them several times. As it is impossible, alas, to reproduce a 2-hour debate here, I will cite only

the most pointed and principled statements. But first of all I will try to sum up the opening speech and the behind-the-scenes answers of V.I. Vorotnikov so as to enable the reader to picture at least in outline the "official plan" of the congress.

Frankly speaking, much of what Vitaliy Ivanovich said in this context I would have associated with the "unofficial" [neformalnyi] concept a few months ago. Here is why.

The memory is still fresh of the deputies' polemics in the Smolnyy, in which the appeal to unite and elaborate a single platform seemed to some people to be going too far. And now a member of the Politburo is calling on deputies to display collective will in drafting proposals for the congress.

Or take the duration of the congress.

"Under no circumstances must anyone be allowed to put a time limit on it," I had heard deputies say more than once. Here is V.I. Vorotnikov's viewpoint: "The congress itself will decide how long it goes on. It is necessary to provide all who wish to speak with the opportunity to do so. I do not rule out that the congress and the Supreme Soviet will work in parallel. There may be a congress session in the morning and a Supreme Soviet session in the afternoon."

"We must try to make sure that the congress sessions are broadcast live"—this was one of the proposals made during the television debate. "Direct relays are planned," delegates learned during the meeting.

These are mere details, some readers may say. And they will have a point. There are more than enough proposals, both official and alternative proposals, but we will only know on the day and not before what actually happens on 25 May. Especially as many questions remain open (and the meeting in the White Hall only served to confirm this). I will cite a few examples to illustrate.

I.A. Melnikov, deputy from the Leninskiy Electoral Okrug: Is it planned to hold a Central Committee plenum and a meeting of the party group on the eve of the congress?

V.I. Vorotnikov: In my opinion it is essential to hold a meeting of the congress party group.

A.I. Melnikov: What will the sentiments of the 12 percent of non-party members be in these circumstances? Are they to wait outside the door for the decision of the party group, or organize a meeting of their own? This is abnormal even from the viewpoint of ethics.

V.I. Vorotnikov: Since our party is the only party in the country, it is responsible for everything. The party was, is, and will remain the leading force in our society. And it cannot be indifferent to an event such as the upcoming congress.

N.V. Ivanov, deputy from the city national-territorial okrug: Leningraders are expressing great concern in connection with the shift to the right in our domestic policy. Therefore I believe that the congress should continue its work until all priority tasks are resolved. I regard the discussion of a law on the party as one such task. At the moment the implementation of the idea of a rule-of-law state is hampered by the non-rule-of-law position of the party. All power is concentrated in the central party organs but since we claim that the parliament is the supreme legislative organ of the country, it should be above social formations, too.

V.I. Vorotnikov: Shifts to the right or the left are an arguable question. Opinions on this point differ both at the CPSU Central Committee plenum and in society. Our main task is to ensure that the congress promotes a consolidation of forces rather than a division of society, so that we can embark even more firmly on the path of democratization and renewal.

A.I. Demidov, deputy from the Kalinskiy Electoral Okrug: How does the CPSU Central Committee Politburo view the situation in the economy?

V.I. Vorotnikov: As critical.

A.A. Denisov, deputy from the Politekhicheskii Electoral Okrug: What is your stance on the proposal for top state officials to be sworn in when taking up their posts? In my opinion they must not only abide by the law but also be highly moral people....

V.I. Vorotnikov: I have not heard this proposal before, but I am "in favor."

Yu.Yu. Boldyrev, deputy from the Moskovskiy Electoral Okrug: Did I understand correctly that, 10 days before the congress, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has no written proposals for the work of the congress?

V.I. Vorotnikov: In accordance with the USSR Constitution, the presidium has submitted its proposals only on the agenda of the congress. Specifically: elections of the Supreme Soviet, its chairman, endorsement of the chairman of the Council of Ministers and the prosecutor general, and so forth.

Yu.P. Sychev, deputy from the Primorskiy Electoral Okrug: A simple question, at first glance: Who is to be regarded as the most important person in the country—the general secretary or the chairman of the presidium?

V.I. Vorotnikov: Allow me not to answer that question.

A.A. Denisov: But you must understand that it is a dilemma for most of us communist deputies....

V.I. Vorotnikov: Theoretically this question has not yet been elaborated. We will proceed from what was decided at the 19th party conference.

N.P. Bekhtereva, deputy from the Academy of Medical Sciences: It cannot be ruled out that questions concerning ethnic problems will be raised at the congress. Are proposals relating to the status of the RSFSR being drafted?

V.I. Vorotnikov: This is a tricky and complex problem. Such proposals are in preparation. However, we must bear in mind that our republic, more than any other, must contribute to the cohesion of nations.

Allow me to sum up briefly. And in order not to appear subjective, I will cite an interview with one of the meeting participants—Deputy D.A. Granin. (Incidentally, according to an opinion poll held on the eve of the elections, Lenigraders rate him as one of the most worthy candidates: In the pecking order he occupied the third place, after M.S. Gorbachev and D.S. Likhachev.) And so, two questions to the deputy.

After our new deputy N.V. Ivanov described the elections from social organizations as a system of "serf's options" [soslovnyye vybory], he came in for a lot of criticism. What is your comment on this, Daniil Aleksandrovich?

[Granin] I am, after all, also a deputy from a social organization, but I must say that I found nothing seditious in Ivanov's words. In my interpretation he was speaking about the imperfections of the Law on Elections, rather than dividing deputies into "good" and "bad" ones. You must also take into account that the man is still under the impact of his election victory.... I don't know, but I for one was impressed by his desire to become an active member of our delegation.

[Chichin] And as for the meeting itself?

[Granin] Do you mean, did it live up to my expectations? By no means entirely. Frankly, this did not surprise me: There are few traditions in the sphere of state administration in our country which are worth developing today. Compare the niveau of the sessions of the current Supreme Soviet and the upcoming congress—what question of continuity can there be? Therefore many questions still remain open. Very difficult work is in store for us at the congress.

And so 44 USSR people's deputies (we do not yet know how many more will join them as a result of yesterday's elections) live in expectation of the congress. Just as you and I. On what other event has our society pinned such great hopes...?

70,000 Greet People's Deputies in Vilnius

LD1406165189

[Editorial Report] Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America at 0000 GMT on 13 June broadcasts a recorded report by correspondent Audrius Matonis on a rally attended by 70,000 in Vingis Park, Vilnius, to greet the deputies who returned from the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow.

Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian reform movement Sajudis, a USSR people's deputy, says that it will take some time before the main achievement of the Lithuanian delegation at the congress can be evaluated. He says that although they were a minority delegation they did not feel like they were of minor importance.

He says: "Our political platform is very clear. It is in the interests of Lithuania and at the same time a common democratic position within the context of the political forces that were present there."

He continues: And indeed, our democratic position was not only to support other democratic forces in the USSR, not only a contribution to the de-Stalinization of the USSR, which has begun in practical terms. This position was a representation of Lithuania on an international scale. Our position showed that Lithuania is ready for a democratic state system.

Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, a USSR people's deputy, said: "By the end of the congress we realized that our thoughts, our ideas, and our preparation for this congress had also been understood by others: by the deputies from Moscow, Leningrad, Georgia, and even by deputies from some nationalities in Siberia. They supported us all the time saying: Here come the Lithuanians. They know what they want and they also know how to achieve what they want. Although we did not speak about it, we were worried about what the reaction would be to decisions we had adopted at the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session. We know how important these decisions are. They were firm steps toward Lithuanian sovereignty and, therefore, we were rather concerned about the reaction these decisions would receive.

"However, we can say today that these decisions have not been rejected, or protested against. These decisions are in force today. "Numerous telegrams we received in Moscow spoke of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, about the fatal year of 1939. We understand people's feelings and expectations. It is good that this commission is headed by someone like Comrade Yakovlev and that several of our deputies are included in it. And we hope that in the nearest future a firm assessment will be made by the Soviet Union once and for all on the nature of these events and how they should be evaluated.

"You saw that there was a majority and a minority at the congress. However, steps taken by our delegation are of historic importance. These steps proved that a majority also has its firm opinion and that this opinion can be logical. It can be justified and understood by people.

"These facts, our meeting with Comrade Gorbachev, and after this meeting the decision adopted almost unanimously to postpone the setting up of the commission for the supervision of the constitution was one of those real steps showing that a minority can achieve a lot."

Mecys Laurinkus, a philosopher, says: "Not only Sajudis has its program and its own strategy. Parties are currently being set up in Lithuania that also have programs. Parties are a product of a citizens' society. The citizens' society is only at the start of its formation. "Sooner or later certain layers of society will find out which of the parties defends their ideas and interests. "Aiming at the successful solution of Lithuania's future it is necessary to have a whole range of clear and unambiguous concepts. Many problems can already be solved collectively. Sajudis wants to confer with the Lithuanian Liberty League, with the Lithuanian Democratic Party, with the Social Democrats, and the Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party.

"In conclusion I can say that we know what we stand for: for freedom and independence."

Poet Justinas Marcinkevicius, planned to speak at the congress but he was not given the floor in Moscow. He speaks at the rally and says: "I regard the autocratic regime, dictatorship, and living in fear of destruction and extinction as the greatest enemy of democracy, the truth, and justice. Therefore, I was going to speak in Moscow about the process of de-Stalinization with which the process of restructuring started in this country. I wanted to attract everybody's attention that this process had come to a standstill some time ago, that Stalinism has consolidated its forces and disguised itself in various shapes in the system of the ruling apparatus, that the strong center cursed by everybody is nothing other than a modern variety of Stalinism. The center fears the decentralization like a plague. It resists in all possible ways republican self-accounting and independence, the freedom and independence of nationalities.

"I wanted to mention in my speech that the sphere of nationality relations has almost not been touched by the process of de-Stalinization. Where especially much evil lies, compulsion, and violence have accumulated. Namely because of these, blood is still being shed in Nagorno-Karabakh and Fergana, namely because of these, people were killed by soldiers in Tbilisi. The USSR still lacks political determination and state courage to acknowledge the natural rights of the Crimean Tartars or the Volga Germans to return to their native lands, condemn the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and

its secret protocols. I also regard the present tension in nationality relations in Lithuania as a display of Stalinism which, it seems, someone finds it useful to incite and support."

A woman from Georgia thanks Egidijus Klumbys, who renounces his deputy's mandate in protest against General Radionov taking part in the work of the congress. She presents flowers to Klumbys' mother.

Matonis reports that the participants of the rally sent a telegram to Gorbachev protesting against procedural violations at the congress that occurred when Academician Andrey Sakharov was speaking and because of disrespect shown to him. He says that telegrams were also sent to the government of the People's Republic of China concerning the latest developments there.

Congress Secretariat's Work Described, Assessed
PM1506094189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Jun 89 Second Edition p 4

[Report by V. Lyubitskiy, A. Lyuty, G. Ovcharenko and A. Chernyak: "Our Business Is Urgent"]

[Text] It is probably the first time ever that, almost until the last minute, the deputies did not know for what date to book their tickets home. Before, when the sessions were "timetabled" to days and hours, there was no such problem, but this time the debates have been so sincere and so informal that the discussion of any problem on the agenda might overrun the "timetable."

But the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies is over, and its participants are returning home. A last poll before departure was carried out by the sociological service organized by scientists at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Soviet State Building and Legislation. Service leaders N. Betaneli and V. Lapteva explain:

"Seventy-nine percent of the deputies polled supported the idea that in future the functions of party and state organs should be delimited on a new legislative basis. Eighty percent of the deputies considered that the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial power is of fundamental importance in forming a socialist rule-of-law state."

The journalists as well as the sociologists are still working—they are also getting final interviews from the deputies. Here, for example, is what Deputy V. Grigoryev, first secretary of Vitebsk Belorussian Communist Party Oblast Committee, told us.

"I know that some people claim that, in their opinion, the congress did not resolve anything. They say that they just talked for a while and then they went away. I think that they are completely mistaken. The congress achieved the most important thing—it took the full

plenitude of power into its own hands in the person of the people's deputies. And it did this on a big scale, not just in words but in deeds, broadly and, in essence, profoundly.

The work of the congress did not by any means take place just in the hall or on the platform—its special working organ, the secretariat, was also in operation.

"It is composed of 17 people," Deputy N. Igrunov, head of the secretariat, said. "There are industrial and agricultural enterprise leaders, scientists, a worker, a teacher, a writer, a journalist; in short, people with a variety of practical experience. It is true that the secretariat was formed somewhat belatedly, which meant in particular that there were some blockages in the work at the beginning. This has to be taken into account at future congresses, so that the secretariat can help to combine democratic debate with good organization right from the start.

"The congress was literally overwhelmed with questions from voters and deputies. Over 112,000 letters and telegrams addressed to it had arrived by 9 June. It is useful that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium apparatus is helping us—its staff are participating in our working groups: We had one to deal with applications to speak (and here it was important not just to record this torrent but to organize it, so that the representatives of the various union and autonomous republics, social organizations, and particular strata of the population did not go unheard), and others had the tasks of registering and documenting the mail and deputies' inquiries, generalizing proposals for legislation, and so on.

"By the time of the final congress sitting the secretariat had received over 2,200 deputies' appeals. More than 50 of these were accepted as official deputies' questions, and many were sent to ministers and various central organizations."

[Question] "Nikolay Stefanovich, is there not a feeling that some deputies do not yet see themselves as the executors of power, but tend to give instructions instead? Deputy T. Poluektova from Kaliningrad, for example, addressed the PRAVDA editorial board via the secretariat in these terms: 'I'm sending you this for your comment' and so on."

[Igrunov] "Yes, some do just write bluntly: 'Question for the congress.' And yet in fact the actual deputies are the congress—if it is seen not as an event but as an organ of power. Many questions are connected with the fact that not all deputies are yet very familiar with the Law on Elections, the USSR Constitution, or their rights and responsibilities. For example, they often bring in bundles of telegrams they have received from voters. But these are actually addressed to a specific deputy, who is in fact the person who should do the work on them, by investigating, resolving problems, and petitioning. Whereas the deputy sees himself only in the role of a mediator: Here,

he says, deal with this.... We invite such deputies to the secretariat and explain to them what should be done. One obvious conclusion is that all we deputies have to learn for ourselves, but it is evidently worthwhile for the Supreme Soviet to consider forms of training.

"Work at the secretariat has been starting at, so to say, the start of the shift and often going on virtually through midnight. We prepared a great deal of material directly for the congress presidium, and we were also supplying additional information for the deputies—they received something practically every morning. [no closing quotes as published]

"I am very pleased with the results of the congress," A. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, told us. "I think that an exceptionally important step has been taken on the path to forming a rule-of-law state. I am convinced that the congress has given guarantees of the irreversibility of restructuring. Before they left, the deputies from the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic held a meeting and came to the conclusion that we had completely changed in the course of 15 days. We are convinced of the rightness of the position supported by the people of Azerbaijan in choosing the restructuring path, and we will not deviate from it. There will be many problems on this path. But now the time has come for some very serious work. This is why our delegation warmly welcomed those speakers who brought in concrete proposals as well as their opinions and assessments, and who told us how they themselves would participate in resolving these problems. We are sincerely pleased that the congress named the very priorities on which our republic party organization has also concentrated its efforts."

Leaving the capital, the majority of the deputies had already arranged group meetings with their voters in their collectives and residential areas. These will not just be ceremonial meetings, but a joint analysis and examination of the results of the congress and a search for real paths to improvement.

Contents of KOMMUNIST's 9th Issue Listed
PM1406155389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jun 89 First Edition p 2

[TASS report under the general heading: "Journals' Latest Issues"]

[Text]

KOMMUNIST

The ninth issue of KOMMUNIST, the CPSU Central Committee's theoretical and political journal, has been published. It opens with notes from the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, which confine themselves to analyzing the first days of the sittings. The congress, elected in a new way, was a real mirror of the country and its

thoughts and sentiments, the notes' authors point out. It reflected not just the gains of the embryonic political culture of people's power but also its weaknesses and immaturity.

The section "Restructuring: Theory and Experience" contains a conversation between two USSR people's deputies—the writer I. Vasilyev and A. Nikonov, president of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences—under the heading "Center of Russia: Man and Land." Here too are the articles "What the Energy Program Should Be Like" by A. Arbatov, "Let's Be Realists!" by L. Kropp, and "Commissar School: Toward the 70th Anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate" by A. Leshchevskiy.

The editorial article "Two Legacies" poses the question: Which methods of party influence on the spiritual sphere of the life of society can be adopted from the past, and what in the ideological arsenals needs to be ruthlessly rejected?

A year ago the journal published the theses of international affairs scientists of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences (No 7, 1988). They aroused interest both in our country and abroad. In the article "Viewpoints of Social Progress" the initiators of that discussion—A. Volkov, Yu. Gavrilov, and B. Kapustin—seek to give a generalized picture of readers' responses. Carried under the same rubric—"Debate and Discussions"—is A. Zharnikov's article "National Self-Determination in Concept and Realization," which provides material for reflection before the CPSU Central Committee plenum on improving interethnic relations in the USSR.

There is a large "Public Opinion" section, containing a review of readers' letters on problems of health care, a sociological review, and the article "Conflict: What Lies Behind It?" by A. Vasilyev and M. Krans, which was the result of an assignment undertaken at readers' request.

O. Khlevnyuk's article "26 June 1940: Illusions and Realities of Administration" is carried under the rubric "Pages of History."

International topics are examined in the article "Choice of Path of Development—the Lao Option" by V. Golobokov and V. Trubnikov and in the essay "On the Draft New Program of the Social Democratic Party of Germany."

Critical, bibliographic, and other materials are also published.

Roy Medvedev Denies Giving Interview
18001248 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 24, 17-23 Jun 89 p 3

[Letter by R. Medvedev: "Letter to the Editor"]

[Text] ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 22 published my interview with the paper's correspondent. As a result of this, many voters have criticized me. I would like to say

that I was not interviewed by N. Zhelnorova, I do not know her, and I did not see her piece [before it was published]. It may have been jotted down from my private conversations with deputies in the lobby of the congress. However, at the time I had not yet become chairman of the commission charged with reviewing the materials connected with the activities of the USSR Procuracy investigative group headed by T. Kh. Gdlyan. In fact, there was no such commission at the time.

[Signed] R. Medvedev
USSR People's Deputy

Renewed Calls for Reburial of Lenin Rejected
PM1406134989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 9 Jun 89 First Edition p 4

[Article by A. Gamov: "More Than Sacred. What Prompted the Statement on the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum"]

[Text] Moscow—Sure, it is difficult talking about it. But one cannot remain silent....

Some time ago, in a Central Television broadcast, we heard a pronouncement to the effect that V.I. Lenin's body should be removed from the mausoleum and committed to the earth. Various "arguments" were adduced. A rather large part of Deputy Yu.F. Karyakin's speech to the congress participants the other day was in the same vein.

Seemingly, this was the last straw. On the very next day editorial offices and, apparently, the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism started to receive anxious telephone calls. Voicing their indignation over what had been said, people said:
"To us the mausoleum is more than sacred!"

Many asked:

Are there documents to substantiate what Deputy Karyakin was talking about? I asked some people, whose competence is not in doubt, to answer the readers' questions. First I met with Doctor of Historical Sciences Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Sovokin, chief of the Works of V.I. Lenin Sector at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and then with Vladimir Ilich's niece, Moscow State University Assistant Professor Olga Dmitriyevna Ulyanova, CPSU member since 1944.

[Gamov] In his speech Deputy Karyakin cites, as he puts it, the "silent, almost totally forgotten fact" that Lenin himself wanted to be buried near his mother's grave in Volkovoye Cemetery in Petersburg. In passing, Comrade Karyakin remarked that Nadezhda Konstantinovna and Mariya Ilinichna, Vladimir Ilich's sister, wanted the same. He was not listened to and they were not listened to either, apparently. What can you say about this?

O.D. Ulyanova:

I would like to say with total conviction that Yu.F. Karyakin's claims do not conform to reality. I spent all my childhood and youth with members of the Ulyanov family—with my father Dmitriy Ilich, with Mariya Ilinichna, Anna Ilinichna, and Nadezhda Konstantinovna—in the Kremlin and in Gorkiy. They would often compare their cherished thoughts about Vladimir Ilich. But none of them ever said that Lenin left any burial instructions.

I have studied the archives of Vladimir Ilich Lenin and the Ulyanov family and their correspondence and memoirs for more than a quarter of a century. But there is not the slightest mention of the "version" put forward by Karyakin. There is no documentary evidence to support the "fact" he cites. I consulted personnel at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, who have spent their lives studying Lenin's legacy, were directly involved in writing a biography of V.I. Lenin, and edited the reminiscences of him by Nadezhda Konstantinovna, Dmitriy Ilich, Mariya Ilinichna, and Anna Ilinichna. They all share my view on the matter—there is not one document to corroborate Yu.F. Karyakin's utterances.

A.M. Sovokin:

I think those who have made statements about the reburial of Lenin's body are above all ignoring the historical facts.

Everyone is familiar with N.K. Krupskaya's appeal to workers and peasants at the time of Vladimir Ilich's funeral not to organize lavish ceremonies in his honor, but to implement his ideas and do everything to give working people a better life. By no means have we fully complied with this sincere appeal throughout our history. It is absolutely clear, however, that neither Nadezhda Konstantinovna nor Vladimir Ilich's intimates and colleagues raised the question of burying the leader's body.

I would like to say that the initiative to preserve Lenin's body on a long-term basis came not from individuals, but from the people themselves. In those sad days of 1924 there were demands from workers, peasants, and Red Army servicemen all over the country not to commit Lenin's remains to the earth, but to preserve the leader's precious countenance for future generations. That is why the 2d Congress of USSR Soviets, held in January of that year, decided to preserve V.I. Lenin's body in a vault. IZVESTIYA wrote at the time: "As long as the oppressed and abused people for whom Lenin lived and fought continue to exist in the world, the mausoleum containing his remains will be a place of pilgrimage for all the oppressed and aggrieved.... In the future it will be a place of pilgrimage for the whole of liberated mankind."

[Gamov] Substantiating his proposal to rebury V.I. Lenin's body, Yu.F. Karyakin says: "One could assemble a thousand ideological or political arguments against this, but not a single human argument...."

A.M. Sovokin:

A multitude of human arguments—sincere, moving documents—is preserved in our archives. "It is essential," the workers and engineers of the Putilovo plant wrote in January 1924, "that Ilich remain with us physically, that enormous masses of working people be able to see him." The Kiev railroad workers demanded that the "relevant specialists be immediately instructed to examine the questions of preserving dear Vladimir Ilich's body for thousands of years." Red Army servicemen of the 9th Radio Battalion: "Let scientists make every effort to do this." There were thousands and thousands of similar demands....

O.D. Ulyanova:

It is a worrying fact that recently a group of people, masquerading as ardent champions of restructuring, have been trying, under the guise of "objectivity," to destroy our sacred national objects. At first it seemed that no one would dare to encroach on the creator of the world's first worker and peasant state, Vladimir Ilich Lenin. But they have. Even a simpleton would see that the ultimate aim of this new "initiative" is not by any means a "decent" burial for the great leader, but something else. Evidently, even Lenin's remains, which lie in Red Square, are a major nuisance as far as certain people are concerned. Vladimir Ilich's mausoleum is a revolutionary symbol of the CPSU which he created, a symbol of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Soviet state. It is our sacred object. It is impermissible, inhuman to trifle with people's feelings.

I must also mention the strange opinions about the state of Lenin's body. Scientists and specialists have done a great deal to preserve Ilich's precious countenance to this day and for the future. All these years specialists have carried out painstaking work in the mausoleum. This solicitous attitude toward Ilich's body makes me feel the deepest gratitude.

I often go to Lenin's mausoleum. When I am with Ilich I cannot hold back the tears. Whenever I am there I see around me a multitude of people who have come to see a leader and person to whom everyone feels close. We are glad and proud that during the busy congress the people's deputies have also visited the mausoleum to pay homage to Ilich. For everyone these are unforgettable moments. And I am sure that many more generations of mankind will be able to see Lenin's precious features.

'Alarming' Moscow Crime Situation Outlined
PM1406101589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 8 Jun 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Announcement from 38 Petrovka Street"]

[Text] A press conference held 7 June at the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Main Internal Affairs Administration was devoted to the state of law and order in the city during the past week.

Militia Colonel V. Strelkov, deputy chief of the Organization Inspection Administration, stressed that the situation continues to be alarming. There were 7 killings (5 of the culprits have been exposed). There is evidence of increasing viciousness and audacity in the crimes. For example, not far from the Kashirskoye Shosse a dismembered body, which turned out to be that of an eighth grade schoolboy, was found wrapped in charred wallpaper. A series of operational investigation measures testifies that his mother strangled him, and then tried to hide the evidence of the crime with her husband.

Unfortunately, shots can also be heard on Moscow streets. Militiamen, too, sometimes have to use firearms. On one occasion, in Solntsevskiy Rayon, a State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration inspector, and a colleague from the same rayon's Department for Combating Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, who rushed to his aid, were obliged to fire into the air several times when the passengers of some stationary "Zhigulis"—there was prior information that they were racketeers—threatened to kill them.

It proved necessary to use weapons on another occasion, too. On Ulitsa Koshkina a militia inspector and a support detail detained three men who had broken into and burgled an apartment. Two unemployed men and a VDOAM [expansion unknown] guard were armed with a foreign-made pistol with a silencer, a knife, and canisters of nerve gas.

At the end of the press conference, Major General L. Velyanskiy, deputy chief of the Main Internal Affairs Administration, informed the journalists about sanctioned and unsanctioned rallies held in the city.

Detention of Kishinev Demonstrators Reviewed

PM1406115189 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 1 Jun 89 p 3

[ATEM report on statement by Counselor of Justice A.A. Kiselev, investigator for especially important cases under the USSR General Prosecutor, given to unidentified ATEM correspondent and carried under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "Thorough Investigation Under Way"; no place or date of statement given—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] The latest session of the Literature and Music Club named for A. Mateyevich was held at the Zelenyy Theater in Kishinev's Central Park for Culture and Recreation named for the Lenin Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] Sunday 28 May. Among other matters, the session raised the question of the illegal arrest by law-enforcement organs and the detention in custody while under investigation of G.P. Vyrto, loading hand at the Kaushany public catering enterprise; F.D. Kalistru, teacher at the 8-grade school in Gulboaka Village, Kriulyanskiy Rayon; Artist S.K. Kyshlar; I.L. Smolyankin, salesman at the Frunzenskiy Rayon's

"Prodtovary" Association, Kishinev City; G.K. Nikulitsa, arc welder at the "Moldmeliovodstroy" Trust's No 14 Mobile Mechanized Column; Yu.I. Ferar, shipping clerk at the "Medik" Cooperative; I.V. Tutunaru, administrator of the "Luchaferul" Theater; V.I. Nistor, student at the Kishinev State University Economics Faculty; and P.D. Tsurkan, lecturer at the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Ministry of Construction training course combine. It was noted that the charges against them were groundless and that their relatives and friends have absolutely no idea of what has happened to them.

An ATEM correspondent asked Counselor of Justice A.A. Kiselev, investigator for especially important cases under the USSR General Prosecutor, to comment on these statements.

Before commenting on the statements in question, he said, I would like to remind readers that group breaches of public order have occurred systematically in downtown Kishinev between January and May 1989. Moreover, individual aggressively inclined persons categorically refused to obey legitimate demands by the representatives of authority to cease their unlawful actions, insulted these representatives, and even offered resistance to militia workers accompanied by violence against them. The situation in Kishinev was especially tense 22 and 29 January, 26 February, 8 and 12 March, 23 April, and 1 May this year. Organs of the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] and Prosecutor's Office have opened seven criminal cases under Article 203(3) of the Moldavian SSR Criminal Code on all group actions associated with breaches of public order and of the violation of city transport operations.

On 23 March this year the group of investigators which I head took over the criminal cases associated with an unsanctioned rally held in Kishinev 12 March. Many of the capital's residents remember that day: It was the day when about 25,000 persons took part in unauthorized rallies held in squares and along Lenin Boulevard. The demonstrators carried a number of provocative banners and shouted nationalist slogans. The thousands marching along Kishinev's streets paralyzed traffic, breached the peace of citizens living in nearby blocks, and caused damage to lawns and plants.

Vyrto, Kalistru, Kyshlar, Smolyankin, Nikulitsa, Ferar, and Nistor were among the persons who took an active part in the group actions and breached public order. These persons, among other citizens, took part in breaking the cordon installed by the Moldavian SSR MVD around the V.I. Lenin Monument and outside Government House, chanted slogans against the existing order of administration and insulting to individual republic leaders, and strove to arouse a feeling of hatred toward them among the people around them. They also called on those assembled to march along Lenin Boulevard to Liberation Square and then to march back to the premises of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

Outside the Central Committee building the organizers of and active participants in this unsanctioned rally called on those assembled to break the protective cordon organized by militia workers and servicemen and to break into the building. Some of those who are under investigation today were most directly involved in the implementation of these calls, and personally attacked officers from organs for the maintenance of law and order.

The excesses and group violations of public order continued that day for more than 10 hours. As a result of criminal actions by several participants in this unauthorized event, nearly 100 officers suffered physical injury and trauma. Some 40 militia personnel sustained physical injuries, and many militiamen and servicemen had their uniforms damaged. For the criminal actions indicated above, the aforementioned citizens were charged under article 203(3) and some under article 204(1) part 2 of the Moldavian SSR Criminal Code. Most of them have been arrested.

A special-operations investigation group was set up to investigate the criminal case, including investigators from organs of the Moldavian SSR MVD, KGB, and Prosecutor's Office, and from various other parts of the country. They are all doing painstaking work to establish the identities of the organizers and active participants of the violations of public order that have taken place recently in Kishinev and the specific actions of the arrested citizens on the basis of incontrovertible evidence. And this requires considerable efforts on everyone's part: The data obtained are being comprehensively examined, there will be additional questioning of over 150 witnesses and casualties in the near future, and a number of identification parades and confrontations will be conducted. In short, the involvement and role of the accused, not only in the events of 12 March but in other unauthorized rallies, will be checked and rechecked, and more accurate data will be obtained on their links with the organizers of a number of criminal actions committed during that period in the center of Kishinev. Some investigators will be making trips to other parts of the country to clarify a number of facts. For all that, a number of files will be completed in the very near future and will be handed over to the people's courts for their consideration.

In conclusion I want to say that this laborious work takes many experienced specialists away from active involvement in the struggle against those who today are encroaching on the lives, dignity, and honor of Soviet people and stealing people's property. The latest data show that crime in the republic is still showing a significant increase, so the investigators of MVD and prosecutor's office organs are under a great deal of pressure at the moment. Nevertheless, each of them remembers that, in our work, haste can have serious consequences. That is why we have to adopt a responsible approach to evaluating the behavior and actions of everyone under investigation.

Sakharov's Criticisms of Army Criticized in Turn
PM1406150789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jun 89 Single Edition p 2

[Article by USSR People's Deputy, Hero of the Soviet Union, Lieutenant Colonel R. Aushev under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Let's Be Objective"]

[Text] I simply did not get to speak at the congress. The only consolation is that many questions worrying my voters and me were raised in speeches by other people's deputies. However, there is one question on which I must put forward my viewpoint and, since I did not speak at the congress, I will try to do this via the newspaper.

This question concerns Afghanistan. I cannot keep silent where the Afghan war is concerned. The memory of the dead, the sufferings and injuries of the survivors, the tears of the 20-year old widows and 40-year old mothers, and lastly the bullet scars on my own body, prevent me from keeping silent.

The "Afghan" question was raised quite acutely at our congress. I would single out two of the most brilliantly expressed positions. The first was voiced by Chervonopiskiy, a deputy from the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League and an Afghanistan veteran. Academician Sakharov expressed the second. I understand and in many respects share Chervonopiskiy's view of events in Afghanistan. His speech could certainly have been more conclusively and accurately worded. But on the other hand I can understand him: He was speaking about his own pain and the pain of the thousands of people who lived through Afghanistan, he was speaking from the position of a man who has reappraised many of our values.

Chervonopiskiy once again asked the academician about the source of his information regarding the alleged shooting of our soldiers by our own men. Once again—this time from the Congress platform—he heard a response that can by no means satisfy.

When Academician Sakharov spoke proudly about his own exile to Gorkiy—as punishment for a stance he once espoused—I understood him. But I cannot understand why the academician opposed the "Afghans" so stubbornly and even aggressively, although he claimed that he did not want to offend the soldiers who had fulfilled their military duty honorably. Whom did he want to offend when he repeated his unsubstantiated accusations that they, the soldiers, allegedly shot their own men in Afghanistan?

I agree with those who talk about the need to investigate the Afghanistan story fully down to the smallest detail. But I believe that we must not hurl accusations from official platforms and from the press until we have grasped everything. I cannot agree with the way the atmosphere is being fired up and passions kindled over

events in Afghanistan. It is well known that truth is not born of such an atmosphere. I will not make unsubstantiated statements. The academician says, *inter alia*, that 1 million Afghan inhabitants died in Afghanistan, and indicates that Soviet soldiers are to blame for that. It looks as though it never occurred to him that an intra-Afghan conflict has been raging all these years in Afghanistan, and its participants have not been using slingshots to shoot at one another. Incidentally, now that our troops are no longer in Afghanistan, the losses there have risen considerably.

I am in favor of objectivity, and I advocate the most meticulous investigation into all the circumstances linked with our troops' presence in Afghanistan. I oppose premature assessments, which, incidentally, some mass media grab and pass off as real fact. In this respect, let me be blunt and say that I was extremely surprised by Leonid Batkin's article in the last edition of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. It is the author's right to defend any stance, including Academician Sakharov's stance. But is it necessary in this connection to literally engage in mud-slinging against his opponent? I am talking about Chervonopiskiy. Expressions like "gross and senseless insults" do not embellish a newspaper article. On the whole, in my opinion, this article is written in the spirit of the old times of stagnation when readers were given very thin newspaper articles. For instance, the author of the article in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI rightly wrote about adverse phenomena in the Army. But I cannot understand on what he bases his claim of "Soviet atrocities" in Afghanistan. Yet his aim immediately becomes clear—to create in the reader the image of the soldier as aggressor and killer. I think that, now that we know more about the armies of those who were at one time described as the "probable enemy," we are not giving even their soldiers such an image. What is the author seeking to achieve? Does he want to embroil the people with the Army? Does he want to frighten young people off from service? Does he want to discredit the idea of the need for armed defense of the fatherland? These are unseemly aims.

I read in one newspaper that, when the internal troops arrived in Tbilisi during the tragic events there, someone described the soldiers as extraterrestrials: tired and dusty, wearing bulletproof vests and caps, and carrying riot shields. I am not much of a stylist, but I thought that this expression—"extraterrestrials"—did not apply solely to the soldiers' external appearance. It seems to me that some of our journalists—and they are not the only ones—think that our Army, with all its hardware and weapons and all its problems, has landed on us straight from the moon.

I am not urging anyone, when restructuring the Army, to start with themselves. I am urging everyone to take part in the restructuring of the Army—which is a part of our society. Maybe when we truly realize that the Army is our children, brothers, and husbands, then we will be less prejudiced and more benevolent and objective.

Azerbaijan KGB To Restructure Activities
PM1406134189 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY
in Russian 2 Jun 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "At the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Committee for State Security"]

[Text] Translating the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress and the decisions of the 19th party conference into practice, the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] KGB is taking specific steps to restructure its official activities. Emphasis is being placed on expanding in every way links with the working people and deepening democracy and glasnost as effective methods of enhancing social activeness in ensuring state security.

During the period of renewal, primary party organizations are called upon to play an even greater role. Their task is to mobilize state security collectives to march in step with the times and with the party, enhance the results and efficiency of their work, and become a guarantor of strict law-abidingness. An organizational assembly and a seminar-conference of primary party organization secretaries which were held at the republic KGB headquarters were devoted to these questions.

Comrade I.I. Gorelovskiy, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR KGB, delivered the opening speech at the conference. An assessment was made of what has been achieved to date, and the problems currently on the agenda were defined more clearly. Attention was focused on the need to observe socialist legality, on questions of professionalism, and work with cadres. The importance of the role and place of party committees and primary organizations at the current stage was emphasized.

The seminar participants discussed the report of Comrade Kh.A. Bagirov, secretary of the republic KGB party committee, "On Enhancing the Role of Primary Party Organizations in Deepening the Restructuring of the Official Duty Activities of Subdivisions of the Committee and Its Organs at Local Level." During the organizational assembly a council of secretaries was formed, the future plan of its work was discussed, and a bureau was elected.

Those present were addressed by Z.A. Samedzade, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Socioeconomic Department.

Vezirov Receives Turkish Envoy, Businessman
NC1406075189 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1600 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Text] Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, received Volkan Vural, Turkey's ambassador to the Soviet Union, who has arrived in Baku, and Arif Sen, president of the (?Laga) Company in Turkey. Ambassador Vural said that Turkey sincerely wishes to establish

many-sided cooperation with the Soviet Union. He asserted: We [words indistinct]. We are (?greatly interested in) your republic's trade relations.

Ambassador Vural agreed to cooperation on [word indistinct] and focused attention on opportunities in other fields. Comrade Vezirov welcomed the guests and noted the strengthening relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union.

These relations are gradually deepening. The visit of the representatives of business circles to Baku at the present time confirms this. The reconstruction process in the domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet Union is creating new opportunities for cooperation. Furthering these opportunities complies with the interests of the peoples of our neighboring countries.

Sadykhov, minister of foreign affairs, and Ibragimov, minister of light industry, attended the meeting.

Leaders Sign Azerbaijan Poet's Obituary

PM1406132389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jun 89 Second Edition p 6

[Obituary of Azerbaijan poet Suleyman Rustam]

[Excerpts] Our multiethnic culture has suffered a grave loss. One of the oldest Soviet writers—Azerbaijan People's Poet Suleyman Rustam (Suleyman Ali-Abbas ogly Rustamzade)—has died.

S. Rustam was born in 1906 in Baku to a working family. [passage omitted].

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev; V.I. Vorotnikov; L.N. Zaykov; Ye.K. Ligachev; V.A. Medvedev; V.P. Nikonov; N.I. Ryzhkov; N.N. Slyunkov; V.M. Chebrikov; E.A. Shevardnadze; V.V. Shcherbitskiy; A.N. Yakovlev; A.P. Biryukova; A.V. Vlasov; A.I. Lukyanov; Yu.D. Maslyukov; G.P. Razumovskiy; Yu.F. Solov'yev; N.V. Talyzin; D.T. Yazov; O.D. Baklanov; R.N. Nishanov; Ye.M. Primakov; A.S. Kapto; A.Kh. Vezirov; Anar; A.A. Belyayev; B.M. Vagabzade; Yu.P. Voronov; R.Ya. Zeynalov; M.A. Ibragimov; V.V. Karpov; G.M. Markov; A.N. Mutalibov; Nabi Khazri; O.A. Saryvelli; S.B. Tatiyev; I.M. Efendiev.

Yazov, Vlasov Visit Kirov Oblast, Note Problems

PM1506092589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 14 Jun 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Modern Roads for the Non-Chernozem Zone"]

[Text] Among the major measures for the socioeconomic transformation of the countryside in the Non-Chernozem Zone of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] being implemented in accordance with the guidelines of the 27th CPSU Congress and the March (1989) plenum of the party's Central Committee,

a great role is allocated to the construction of modern roads. It is necessary to construct tens of thousands of kilometers of hard-surfaced internal farm roads, and also to join all central precincts of collective and state farms to rayon centers by convenient routes and to organize regular transport links.

A special program has been adopted to radically improve roadbuilding in the Non-Chernozem Zone. Capital investments to the tune of more than R35 billion have been allocated to these ends. Many ministries and departments are involved in implementing it. A considerable volume of work has been entrusted to Defense Ministry roadbuilding formations. More than 20 roadbuilding teams have been formed to resolve the tasks of developing the road network in this region. Some of them are on the territory of Kirov Oblast.

A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, who were there 12-13 June, familiarized themselves with progress in fulfilling the decisions on realizing the party's agrarian policy under modern conditions in this region—a policy designed to ensure radical economic, social, and cultural changes in the countryside's development. They visited Urzhumskiy, Kilmetskiy, Nemskiy, Kotelnichskiy, Zuyevskiy, and Falenskiy rayons, and met with leaders of local party and soviet organs and with commanders and political workers of subunits. There were also numerous conversations with rural workers and Soviet servicemen.

Questions connected with realizing the decisions of the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies were at the center of attention during these meetings and conversations. It was emphasized that the congress took our society to a new stage in the development of democracy and glasnost and in restructuring itself. It was a major event in the history of the Soviet state. Rural residents and servicemen said that the congress and its documents aroused profound interest among all sections of the population in Kirov Oblast, as well as in other parts of the country.

The chief thing now is to tackle practical work in fulfilling the guidelines elaborated by the congress without delay, stepping up political and organizational activity in all areas. Selfless work by everyone in the sector entrusted to him, a conscientious attitude toward one's duties, and the strengthening of discipline and order—whose present state demands a decisive change for the better—are decisive conditions for the success of restructuring, for implementing all the plans outlined, and for improving the life of Soviet people.

The fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum decisions on questions of agrarian policy and the Food Program was singled out at the congress as a task of

paramount importance. In this connection the need to urgently tackle the countryside's social development and the development of trade, housing construction, municipal services, and the entire infrastructure in the countryside, particularly roads, was emphasized.

The process of transformations in the oblast was analyzed from just this viewpoint during A.V. Vlasov's and D.T. Yazov's meetings with working people and roadbuilding servicemen. Attention was drawn there to the resolution of both long-term and current tasks. On the agenda now, for example, is feed procurement, the preparations to gather in the harvest, and the raising of livestock productivity.

When analyzing the state of roadbuilding, including that involving military subunits, the need to organize all work with a view to the long term, counting on the steady fulfillment of the program defined in accordance with the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum decisions, was noted. An in-depth study of engineering questions, the creation of an industrial base, and, on this basis, a cardinal improvement in the quality of roads are of paramount significance here.

It was pointed out that, in addition to definite progress on these questions, they are underestimated by a number of leaders of construction organizations and military collectives, and there are also sentiments of complacency. Problems of the road network's development are not always resolved comprehensively, with due regard for the interests of residents of population centers. It is possible to encounter instances where a hard-surfaced road links rayon centers, while streets with broken, dusty roadways remain in the settlements themselves. This situation must not be tolerated. A road means life. And it is important that people feel right now a real return on the road sections being commissioned.

Great attention was devoted to strengthening cooperation between general construction and specialized roadbuilding organizations, including military ones. Things are frequently slowed down by a departmental approach and by uncoordinated efforts—which has an adverse effect on the pace and quality of work. It is proposed to resolutely do away with these shortcomings. Local party and soviet organs must play an important role here.

A.V. Vlasov and D.T. Yazov visited a number of military camps. They took an interest in the living and domestic conditions of personnel and of the families of officers and ensigns. It was pointed out that much has been done to develop garrisons. At the same time the construction of a number of socioconsumer projects remains incomplete. Questions of providing the families of officers and ensigns with housing demand special attention.

A conference was held at the oblast party committee to examine multifaceted problems of developing the road network. Leaders of a number of republic ministries and departments and of roadbuilding units participated in it.

A.V. Vlasov and D.T. Yazov were accompanied on their tour of the rayons by S.A. Osminin, first secretary of Kirov Oblast party committee, and V.A. Desyatnikov, chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee.

Defense Ministry To Build Roads

LD1306213589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1700 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Text] Among the important measures on social and economic transformations of rural areas in the Non-Chernozem Zone of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], a large role goes to the construction of modern roads. A significant part of the work has been given to the road building units of the Defense Ministry.

Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and Army General Yazov, Soviet defense minister, familiarized themselves with the implementation of the party's agrarian policy in Kirov Oblast, which they visited 12-13 June.

They visited a number of rayons, met heads of local party and soviet bodies, commanders, and political workers of the subunits. There were also numerous conversations with rural workers and Soviet troops. At the center of attention during these meetings and conversations were questions about the implementation of the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies. In this connection the necessity of urgently tackling the social improvement of villages and of developing trade, residential construction, public services, and the entire infrastructure, especially roads, was stressed.

Comrades Vlasov and Yazov visited a number of military cantonments. They inquired about the living conditions of the personnel, the families of officers and NCO's [non-commissioned officers].

There was a meeting in the oblast party committee, at which the various problems of developing the road network were examined, and which was attended by the heads of a number of republican ministries and departments and of road building units.

Road Inspections Conducted

LD1406225289 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 14 Jun 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The roads of the Non-Chernozem Zone are the theme of a report by our special correspondents in Kirov Oblast:

[Unidentified correspondent] This section of the highway was built by military road-builders. Of the 24,000 kilometers of roads in Kirov Oblast, only one-tenth are like this, with an asphalt covering. [passage omitted] [video shows road-laying operations; interview with Major Froymchuk on need for roads; interview with road-builder]

Comrades Vlasov and Yazov came to Kirov Oblast to acquaint themselves with the situation on the spot and to help things. For almost a day and a half they visited many rayons of the oblast, and spoke with local residents, military road-builders, and the leadership of the area. Special stress was laid on the quality of the work. [video shows Vlasov and Yazov inspecting road-building, entering light aircraft, talking with civilians and conscripts]

[Correspondent addresses Yazov] Critics may say that the Army is again occupying itself with something that is not its business, while the adherents of this decision consider that this is part of conversion, in the broad sense of the word. What do you think of this?

[Yazov] Well, I would never say that the Army is occupying itself with anything but its own business. We need engineering units in the Army, both in the event of war and without war, and where better to train specialists than during practical work?

[Correspondent] So, is this a school?

[Yazov] Yes, it is a school. Several road-building teams have been created, and they are fulfilling their tasks in Kirov, Yaroslavl, Vologda, Ivanovo, Perm Oblast, Udmurt ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], Kostroma, Ryazan, and Orel oblasts. [video shows interview with Yazov]

[Vlasov addresses correspondent] I would say that this is a fine example of united efforts, of unity in tackling the huge social task of lifting agriculture. Altogether, we are seeing that military builders can double the volume of construction by 1990. That is the main aim. [video shows interview with Vlasov]

[Correspondent] But the most reliable form of transport is still the helicopter. [video shows correspondent standing by a helicopter]

Lithuanian Rally Marks Anniversary of Occupation
LD1406145889 *Vilnius in English to North America*
2200 GMT 12 Jun 89

[Text] Hello, I'm Zigmas Banelis reporting for Radio Vilnius Newsdesk.

At four o'clock local time on the 11th June, Lithuania's Independence Union organized a rally to mark the 49th anniversary of Lithuania's occupation by the Soviet Union. When the organizing committee was making

preparations to start the rally, my eye was attracted by an unusual sight—a man brought a Soviet army sergeant's uniform and hung it on a (?cart) to the left of the speaker's stage. Then he put a (?serious) cap on, he also fastened a small piece of paper depicting a handshake of a Nazi and a Communist. I asked a man nearby to explain the meaning of all that. He said that it was the first public protest against the presence of the Soviet troops in Lithuania, and the people were going to burn it. So here is my new acquaintance (Alfonas Juska) for his opinion on the action:

[Begin recording] [(Juska)] I don't consider it very serious, but perhaps it's necessary. (?From afar), from the center, from people, now not everybody sees it.

[Banelis] That is the main reason that the person brought this uniform of the Soviet soldier here, just inside the park—what do you think? What's the main reason?

[(Juska)] I think that it's quite clear—it's a protest.

[Banelis] Oh, just look, it's collapsed.

[(Juska)] Oh, that's rather symbolic! [end recording]

[Banelis] After that the uniform of the Soviet sergeant was raised and set on fire. Soon it burnt down. When the rally ended I approached the former political prisoner Algimantas Andreika and asked him to comment on it, too. This is what he had to say: Well, this rally was a success, says Algimantas Andreika: lots of people heard the truth, which was for a long time concealed from them. So far, the 15th July 1940 has not been mentioned openly by the government either. The current Government of Lithuania is for sovereignty within the framework of the Soviet Union, which is an empty phrase. The main goal of today's action was to draw the nation's attention to the urgent need to exert all efforts, our determination and unity for the future of our children, and it is clear our national dignity will depend on that, too. I consider that it is better to perish in the struggle for freedom than to remain a slave. I also call upon all to hold a national 24 hour hunger strike on 15th June; this action will show our resistance to the occupational system in Lithuania. I also call upon our countrymen abroad to press their governments to help us. Only unity will bring freedom for us, said in conclusion Algimantas Andreika, the former political prisoner.

Liberty League Member Speaks
LD1406150689 *Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America*
0000 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Summary] A rally to commemorate the 49th anniversary of Lithuania's occupation was held in Kalnu Parkas in Vilnius on Sunday. The rally was organized by the Union of Lithuanian Independence.

Speeches were made by the representatives of all the political parties and organizations which have now united into the Union of Lithuanian Independence.

Speakers from the Latvian Independence Movement, the Moscow Democratic Movement, and the Georgian National Liberation Movement spoke at the rally.

Antanas Terleckas from the Lithuanian League of Liberty said that he had doubts about Russia's magnanimity in returning independence to Lithuania, yet at the same time he admitted that the Lithuanian delegation had succeeded in Moscow in advancing the issue of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact for discussion and evaluation. He said that even a parliamentary campaign could lead to bloody confrontations, and that it is only with great persistence and determination that Lithuanians will drive the Russian occupation army out of Lithuanian territory; only if the entire Lithuanian nation is physically exterminated would the desire to be free also be exterminated, said Antanas Terleckas.

The rally lasted for about 2 hours.

Yerevan 28 May Meeting Marks Restoration Day
PM1406110589 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
30 May 89 p 3

[ARMENPRESS report: "Rally in Yerevan"]

[Excerpt] A rally held in Yerevan 28 May was devoted to the day of the restoration of Armenian statehood and to the establishment of the tricolor flag as a national symbol.

Tens of thousands of residents of Yerevan and of other cities and rayons of the republic participated in it. The speakers—scholars, writers, and representatives of labor collectives and various organizations—pointed out that the establishment of 28 May 1918 as the date of the restoration of Armenian statehood is an expression of the will of the entire people and is perceived by the general public as a triumph of historical justice and the surmounting of its "blank" spots.

Demands for a just political solution to the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh in the spirit of democracy and glasnost, and for the restoration of the Leninist principles of nationalities policy and interethnic relations, were the leitmotiv of the speeches. This act will rectify the historical mistake, made without regard for the true aspirations of the ordinary people, who became a plaything in the hands of political tricksters headed by Stalin. Questions of accelerating the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on the socioeconomic development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKA0] were raised. Sharp criticism was leveled at the actions of republic officials responsible for arranging close scientific and cultural and also sociopolitical contacts between the NKA0 and Armenia.

The speakers voiced special concern in connection with the situation that has arisen in the earthquake zone—the relaxation of the pace of reconstruction work and the construction of housing, children's preschool establishments, and schools, and the negative demographic trends which have become apparent. Thus, in particular, many families evacuated to other parts of the country are still unable to return to their native homes because of the shortage of even temporary housing for them.

Many speeches expressed general alarm at the ecological situation that has taken shape in Yerevan, Kirovakan, Alaverdi, and other places, the mass poisonings in labor collectives, the course of the investigation into them, and the arrest of members of the "Karabakh" Committee.

The speakers at the rally touched on a number of questions raised at the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies, and voiced the hope that the congress will devote special attention to questions of interethnic relations, guided by the Leninist principle of nations' equality and their right to self-determination. [passage omitted]

'Unity' Founders Warn of Lithuanian 'Karabakh'
PM1406093789 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA
in Russian 18 May 89 p 3

["Statement by Group of Organizers of the Socialist Movement for Restructuring in Lithuania, 'Vienybe-Yedinstvo-Jednosc'"]

[Text] The constituent congress of the Socialist Movement for Restructuring in Lithuania, "Vienybe-Yedinstvo-Jednosc," held on 13-14 May 1989, will go down in the history of sociopolitical movements that have come into being on the wave of restructuring, as an example of violence against democracy and the danger of extremism for democracy. Before the eyes of the congress delegates, numerous guests, and a broad press representation, a group of extremists from the movement's Vilnius city council, led by V. Ivanov, staged a well-rehearsed performance with dramatic appeals to delegates' feelings. This group arbitrarily increased its representatives to 600, against 807 delegates who came from all of the republic's organizations. This "interest" and desire to play a definite "role" in the congress are all the more strange because the city council refused to finance it, and even impeded its preparation. Because many delegates left the constituent congress as a result of the disgraceful scene in the opening stages, it essentially turned into a city conference which, in a majority vote, hailed V. Ivanov as champion, hero, and leader! The question of whether all this is in the interests of the working class, in whose name V. Ivanov is conducting his speculative activity, requires no explanation.

We, the founders of the "Vienybe-Yedinstvo-Jednosc" movement, feel very bitter to have to admit that V. Ivanov's extremist group has nevertheless succeeded in discrediting the movement, which will no longer be an integral part of the political system in Soviet Lithuania

because the population has now lost faith in it. It is even more painful for us to say that we are leaving the "Vienybe-Yedinstvo-Jednosc" movement. We do not feel it possible to be members of an organization whose leadership cultivates ultimatums, coercion, demagoguery, forgery, and intrigue, appropriates the labor of the movement's members, and fabricates false reports on them for the party committees.

Aware of our moral responsibility to those who put their faith in the ideas contained in the 11 November 1988 declaration of the Socialist Movement for Restructuring in Lithuania, "Vienybe-Yedinstvo-Jednosc," we hereby state that we will defend the socialist nature of restructuring, equal rights, social justice, and legal protection for the individual.

We urge the wholesome forces in "Vienybe-Yedinstvo-Jednosc" to break with V. Ivanov's group, which is whipping up hysteria and playing a dangerous political game with unpredictable consequences. The people of Soviet Lithuania do not need a Karabakh or tanks in the streets of the fine cities and villages of our republic. We urge all social forces first and foremost to reasonable dialogue and to a consolidation of efforts in the struggle for real democracy and improved interethnic relations on the basis of good agreement and mutual respect, without the need to resort to harsh social actions.

[Signed] V. Alekseyev, V. Antonov, V. Bikulichyus, Yu. Galtsev, A. Gelbakh, A. Glavatskiy, K. Inozemtsev, A. Ktitorov, N. Kukin, I. Kuchero, I. Kuts, V. Makanin, T. Matskyavichene, A. Merkel, V. Pogozhelskiy, G. Popov, V. Sinityn, S. Reznik, I. Slutsker, A. Subbotin, S. Suprunov, Ye. Trubin, Ye. Trubina, A. Fedorov, and S. Yuonene.

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet To Convene 4 Jul
LD1406123889 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian
4 Jun 89 p 1

[Text] Decree of the Lithuanian Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium concerning the convocation of the 12th session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

A decision has been adopted by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to convene the 12th session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation on 4 July 1989.

[Signed] V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
L. Sabutis, secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
Vilnius, 1 June 1989.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium announces that the following issues are to be included in the agenda of the 12th session of the 11th convocation of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet:

1. Draft law on Lithuanian SSR Farmers' Enterprises.
2. Draft Taxation Law of Cooperatives in the Lithuanian SSR.
3. Information collected by the commission set up by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to investigate the accident at the Jonava Azotas enterprise.
4. Confirmation of decrees adopted by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Estonian Resolution on Cost Accounting Published
18001159b Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 23 May 89 p 4

[Text Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution: "On the Transfer of the Estonian SSR to Cost Accounting"]

[Text] Guided by the Constitution of the Estonian SSR and the resolution of the 19th all-union party conference "On Interethnic Relations," and proceeding from the goal of achieving a balanced development of the economy, the social sphere, and culture in the Estonian SSR and the economic independence of the republic, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deems it necessary to transfer the Estonian SSR to cost accounting on the basis of the Summary Concept of Cost Accounting in the Estonian SSR submitted by the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers.

Under the conditions of cost accounting in the Estonian SSR, the entire socioeconomic complex of the Estonian SSR will on the basis of republic legislation be managed only by the organs of state power and state management of the Estonian SSR.

The Estonian SSR will carry out its obligations to the all-union national economic complex, and will participate in its development in accordance with agreements and contracts that the Estonian SSR concludes with the organs of the USSR and the other all-union republics and their parts, proceeding from the principles of a mutually advantageous division of labor and equivalent commodity exchange.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet resolves as follows:

1. To approve the Summary Concept of Cost Accounting in the Estonian SSR and the draft law drawn up on the basis of that concept "On the Transfer of the Estonian SSR to Republic Cost Accounting (Economic Independence)," and to oblige the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to submit it as a legislative initiative of the Estonian SSR to the USSR Congress of Deputies.
2. To assign the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers and city and rayon soviets of people's deputies the task of insuring the transfer of the Estonian SSR to cost accounting from 1 January 1990, insuring at all stages in the introduction of cost accounting a balanced and effective development of the republic national economy.

3. To start preparations for the transfer of the Estonian SSR to cost accounting on the basis of the Summary Concept of Cost Accounting in the Estonian SSR.

[Signed] A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

A. Almann, secretary of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Tallinn, 18 May 1989

Estonian Draft Law on Cost Accounting Published
18001159a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 23 May 89 p 4

[Text of USSR draft law "On the Transfer of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic to Republic Cost Accounting (Economic Independence)"]

[Text] Having examined the question of the transfer of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] to republic cost accounting (economic independence) submitted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies considers that such a transfer, stemming from the line of the CPSU toward really guaranteeing the sovereignty of the all-union republics, and also toward the expansion of money-exchange relations in the Soviet economy, meets the interests of socioeconomic development both in the republic and in the USSR in general. The transfer of the Estonian SSR to economic independence promotes the further strengthening of Soviet federation and the cardinal enhancement of initiative, increasing the contribution of the republic in the development of the USSR national economic complex, and enhancing the responsibility of the Estonian SSR for ensuring efficiency in social production and improvement in the well-being of the people.

The USSR Congress of People's Deputies resolves as follows:

1. To approve the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet resolution on the transfer of the Estonian SSR on an experimental basis to republic cost accounting, effective from 1 January 1990, on the basis of the Summary Concept of Cost Accounting in the Estonian SSR, as approved by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Estonian SSR shall bear full responsibility for its own efficient economic and social development, and also for proper and timely compliance on a mutual basis with its obligations with regard to organs of the USSR and the other all-union republics and individual regions of the USSR, and also with foreign states.

2. Under the conditions of republic cost accounting in the Estonian SSR, all the enterprises, establishments, and organizations located on republic territory shall as a rule be part of the republic integrated national economic complex managed solely by the organs of state power and management in the Estonian SSR, which, using primarily economic methods, will ensure that permanent and

flexible links will be maintained between the Estonian SSR and the other all-union republics and regions of the USSR, and that the Estonian SSR makes its proper contribution to the development of the unified national economic complex of the USSR.

All enterprises, establishments, and organizations located on the territory of the Estonian SSR, regardless of their subordination, shall be obliged to observe the legislation of the Estonian SSR.

3. For the purpose of effecting the transfer of the Estonian SSR to republic cost accounting, to make provision that within the Estonian SSR the following are effected through the Estonian SSR's highest organs of state power and management:

1) full legislative power with respect to all socioeconomic questions on the territory of the Estonian SSR, proceeding from the general principles of USSR legislation;

2) establishment of a money and credit system in the republic, together with taxes and other income received by the republic budget and local budgets in the Estonian SSR, determination of the bases for the payment of wages, and establishment of a pricing procedure in the republic;

3) management of all sectors of national economy on the territory of the republic;

4) leadership in foreign economic activity of concern to the Estonian SSR, proceeding from general state foreign economic policy of the USSR.

In order to ensure completely the transfer of the Estonian SSR to republic cost accounting, to establish, as an exception, that Paragraphs 3 through 7 and 10 through 12 of Articles 73 and 74 of the USSR Constitution, with respect to the Estonian SSR, shall, from 1 January 1990, be applied with the exceptions as set forth in this law and in the Estonian SSR Law "The Bases of Cost Accounting in the Estonian SSR," and in the enforceable enactments of the Estonian SSR adopted on the basis of the latter.

4. To determine that enforceable enactments of the USSR that do not correspond to the provisions of republic cost accounting in the Estonian SSR shall not be applied with respect to the Estonian SSR when the corresponding laws of the Estonian SSR come into force.

5. The Estonian SSR shall have an independent state budget. The Estonian SSR shall meet its obligations to the USSR state budget on the basis of stable normative for deduction as confirmed by appropriate agreement between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Estonian SSR shall have its own foreign exchange account which shall be part of its balance of payments.

The Estonian SSR shall have the right independently to conduct all foreign exchange operations both with USSR banks and with foreign banks, including foreign exchange loans, and shall be fully responsible for this.

6. Ministries, state committees, and departments of the Estonian SSR shall be subordinate only to the highest organs of state power and management of the Estonian SSR.

Ministries, state committees, and departments of the USSR shall cooperate with the corresponding management organs of the Estonian SSR through the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers.

7. To establish that the transfer to the control of the Estonian SSR of enterprises, establishments, and organizations of all-union subordination located on the territory of the Estonian SSR, and also their branches and other subdivisions, with all material and other resources, shall be effected without compensation under procedures laid down by an agreement concluded between the USSR Council of Ministers and the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers.

8. The volume of imports into the Estonian SSR and exports from the Estonian SSR of centrally allocated production-technical output, agricultural produce, and consumer goods shall be determined by agreements and contracts concluded between appropriate organs of the USSR and the Estonian SSR.

9. The obligations of the Estonian SSR to the all-union national economic complex shall be met in accordance with agreements and contracts concluded between the Estonian SSR and the USSR and other all-union republics, and also individual regions of the USSR, through their organs, proceeding from the principles of the mutually advantageous division of labor and equivalent commodity exchange between the parties.

Participation by the Estonian SSR in all-union and interpublic goal-oriented programs shall be determined using the same procedure.

The Estonian SSR shall effect planning for the economic and social development of the republic independently, proceeding from agreements and contracts concluded. In the state plans for the economic and social development of the Estonian SSR, planning indicators shall be estimated.

10. The Estonian SSR Council of Ministers shall annually inform the USSR Council of Ministers about the course of republic cost accounting in the Estonian SSR, and starting from 1995 shall every 5 years through the year 2005 submit to the Government of the USSR the generalized results of republic cost accounting in the Estonian SSR for consideration in the process of the further development of the socioeconomic complex of the USSR.

Estonian Trade Union Weekly Newspaper Launched
LD1406024589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1950 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Text] The first issue of a weekly newspaper called RAHVAAJALEHT [NARODNAYA GAZETA] has gone on sale at the paper kiosks in Estonia. For the first time in their existence Estonian trade unions now have their own newspaper. An editorial article stresses that the new publication will implement the directions set out for the trade unions by the 19th all-union party conference—meeting the demands of broad circles of readers and defending the rights and interests of the working people of the republic.

Saratov Newspaper Output Hit by Paper Shortage
PM1406145589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 89 p 4

[O. Zlobin report: "Newspaper Production Threatened by Paper Question"]

[Text] In the morning the director of Saratov Oblast's Communist publishing house broke the extremely unpalatable news: That the publication of the latest issue of ZARYA MOLODEZHI—the oblast Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] weekly—was in jeopardy. It is quite possible that when the subscribers went to their mailboxes that Saturday they would not find their favorite newspaper, would not be able to read the responses to the congress now finishing its work, know the readers' opinions, or see the other items in the 12-page publication.

What has happened? Vitaliy Pavlovich Kaydash shrugged. The teletype in his office had been buzzing for the past few days—telegrams marked "Urgent" were speeding to Moscow like SOS signals. You read—and you are horrified. "From 9 June this year TRUD will not be published...." "I have to report for the second time that since 31 May IZVESTIYA has been printed on paper from other publishing houses. The backlog as of 8 June is 47 tonnes. As of 9 June publication of the newspaper will cease...."

What a situation.... In the publishing house's long history, people there cannot remember an occasion when newspapers did not appear because of lack of paper. Everything possible is now being done.

The same is happening at many of the country's publishing houses. They are in quite a frenzy. It goes without saying that after the grim telegrams were sent, from somewhere they are shipping out tonnes of newsprint, as though in response to a combat alert. But why the holdup again? The congress gave the printers work to do—and the newspapers "put on weight." But couldn't that have been foreseen? Rail workers with their classic refrain "there are no freight cars" really aggravated the situation. At the congress a deputy who is a miner complained that they cannot ship their finished coal out of the

Donbass. As we can see, shipping out the "white coal" without which the chill of people's doubts and lack of information cannot be thawed during these so important days is also a problem.

The problem of a paper shortage in a country as rich in timber resources as ours is offensive in itself. But that offense is tripled when the shortage is caused artificially by lack of coordination among departments.

Incidentally, in my house, like that of any ZARYA MOLODEZHI staffer, so much paper regularly accumulates that if it were all put together there would be more than enough to produce not just one issue of the weekly. That takes just 300 kg of paper. But who is going to collect all that waste paper at short notice? Clearly, it is easier to stop the newspaper....

Latvian Draft Law on Local Soviet Elections

18001135 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA
in Russian 23 May 89 pp 2-3

[Draft of law of Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic "On Elections of People's Deputies of Local Soviets of the Latvian SSR"]

[Text]

1. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1. Principles of Elections of People's Deputies

Elections of people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]—rayon, city, rayon in city, village, and rural soviets—are conducted on the basis of the general, equal, and direct right to vote with a secret ballot and free will.

Article 2. Universal Right To Vote

Elections of people's deputies of local soviets are universal: all citizens of the Latvian SSR who have reached 18 years of age have the right to vote and be elected. A citizen of the Latvian SSR cannot be a people's deputy simultaneously in more than two soviets of people's deputies.

Military servicemen can vote and be elected regardless of whether they have citizenship in the Latvian SSR.

Any direct or indirect restrictions on voter rights of citizens of the Latvian SSR depending on their origin, social and property position, race, nationality, sex, education, language, religious persuasion, length of residence in a given location, type and nature of employment are prohibited.

Psychologically ill citizens declared by the court to be incompetent, people in prisons, and also people sent by the court to facilities for compulsory treatment do not participate in elections.

Article 3. Equal Right To Vote

Elections of people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR are equal: the voter has one vote; citizens of the Latvian SSR participate in elections on an equal basis.

Article 4. Direct Right To Vote

Elections of people's deputies of rayon, city, rayon in city, village, and rural soviets of the Latvian SSR are direct: people's deputies of local soviets are elected by citizens directly.

Article 5. Free Elections and Secret Voting

Elections of people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR are free. Influencing the will of the voters through force, deception, threats, bribery or other illegal methods and abuse of their free will are criminally punishable.

Voting at elections of deputies of soviets of the Latvian SSR is secret: monitoring the expression of the will of the voters is not allowed.

Article 6. Conducting Elections by Electoral Commissions

Conducting elections of people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR is provided by electoral commissions which are formed from representatives of labor collectives, student collectives, meetings of voters at the place of residence, and military servicemen in their units.

Article 7. Openness in Preparing for and Conducting Elections of People's Deputies of Local Soviets of the Latvian SSR

Elections of people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR are prepared for and conducted by electoral commissions, labor collectives, student collectives, and social organizations openly and publicly.

Electoral commissions inform the citizens about their work and about the formation of electoral okrugs and sections, and the composition, location, and time of the work of the electoral commissions and the lists of voters. The electoral commissions inform the citizens about the nomination of candidates, the results of the registration of candidates for deputies, the biographical information about the registered candidates, the main points of their pre-election programs, the results of the voting for each candidate, and the election totals.

Representatives of labor collectives, student collectives, social organizations, and meetings of voters, agents, and also representatives of the press, television, and radio have a right to be present at meetings of electoral commissions, including during the registration of candidate deputies, the counting of the votes in the electoral section, the determination of the results of the election for the okrug, and the summing up of the overall results of the elections.

The justification for the participation of a representative of a labor collective, student collective, social organization, or voter assembly at a meeting of the electoral commission is an excerpt from the minutes of a meeting for nominating a candidate or a meeting of an election agency of a social organization registered by the corresponding electoral commission.

The mass media cover the course of preparing for and conducting the elections of people's deputies and they are guaranteed unrestricted access to all the assemblies and meetings related to the elections. Electoral commissions, state and social agencies, labor collectives, and student collectives give them available information related to preparing for and conducting the elections.

Article 8. Participation of Citizens, Labor Collectives, Student Collectives, and Social Organizations in Preparing for and Conducting Elections of People's Deputies of Local Soviets of the Latvian SSR

Citizens of the Latvian SSR participate in preparing for and conducting elections of people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR through the labor collectives, student collectives, social organizations and voter assemblies at their place of residence and military servicemen, in their military units and also directly. Labor collectives, student collectives, and social organizations participate in preparing for and conducting elections of people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR both through their representatives on the electoral commissions and directly.

Article 9. The Right to Nominate Candidates for People's Deputies of Local Soviets of the Latvian SSR

The right to nominate candidates for people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR is enjoyed by labor collectives, student collectives, social organizations, and voter assemblies in the place of residence and for military servicemen, in the military units.

Article 10. Instructions From Voters to People's Deputies of Local Soviets of the Latvian SSR

Voters give instructions to their deputies. The policy for introducing, generalizing, considering, and organizing the fulfillment of orders is established by the Latvian SSR Constitution and the laws of the Latvian SSR.

Article 11. Incompatibility of the Status of the People's Deputies of Local Soviets of the Latvian SSR With Official Offices

Individuals on executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies, with the exception of chairmen of executive committees, leaders of administrations and departments of executive committees and their deputies, people's judges, state arbitrators and procurators, and their deputies cannot simultaneously be people's deputies of the corresponding local soviet of the Latvian SSR.

Article 12. Expenditures Related to Elections of People's Deputies of Local Soviets of the Latvian SSR. Material Support for Elections

Expenditures related to preparing for and conducting elections of people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR are made from state funds. Financing the election campaign from other sources is prohibited. Enterprises, institutions, and organizations and state and social agencies place at the disposal of the electoral commissions premises and equipment necessary for preparing for and conducting the elections.

Article 13. Responsibility for Violation of Legislation Concerning Elections of People's Deputies of Local Soviets of the Latvian SSR

Individuals who use violence, deception, threats, bribery, or other illegal means to prevent free exercise by a citizen of the Latvian SSR of his right to vote and be elected a people's deputy of a local soviet or conduct pre-election agitation and also members of electoral commissions and officials of state and social agencies who have forged electoral documents, deliberately miscounted votes, violated the secrecy of voting, or allowed other violations of the present law are liable under the law. Individuals who have published or used other means to spread false information about a candidate deputy are also held responsible.

2. POLICY FOR HOLDING ELECTIONS AND FORMING ELECTORAL OKRUGS

Article 14. Scheduling Elections of People's Deputies of Local Soviets of the Latvian SSR

Elections of people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR are scheduled by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet no later than 4 months before the expiration of the term of people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR. The announcement of the day of the elections is published in the press.

Article 15. Formation of Electoral Okrugs

Electoral okrugs are formed for elections of people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR: the rayon soviet of people's deputies—from 50 to 120 electoral okrugs; city (cities under republic jurisdiction) soviet of people's deputies—from 25 to 80 electoral okrugs; rayon in city soviet of people's deputies—from 75 to 200 electoral okrugs; village, rural soviet of people's deputies—from 20 to 50 electoral okrugs.

Within the limits of the norms established by the present law, the number of electoral okrugs for elections of people's deputies of each rayon, city (cities under republic jurisdiction) soviet is determined by the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet upon application from

the corresponding soviet of people's deputies or its presidium, and for elections of people's deputies of each city (cities with rayon jurisdiction), rayon in city, village, and rural soviet—by the higher soviet of people's deputies or its presidium based on the number of population, the territory, and other local conditions.

Electoral okrugs are formed correspondingly by the rayon, city, rayon in city, village, and rural soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums with an equal population throughout the entire territory of the given soviet of people's deputies. Administrative-territorial division is taken into account when determining the boundaries of electoral okrugs.

The number of electoral okrugs for elections of people's deputies of local soviets from the USSR Armed Forces is determined by the Central Election Commission of the Latvian SSR taking into account suggestions from the corresponding local soviets of people's deputies and military units.

One people's deputy of the local soviet is elected from each electoral okrug.

Lists of electoral okrugs with an indication of their boundaries are published by the corresponding soviet of people's deputies no later than 10 days after the scheduling of the elections.

3. ELECTORAL SECTIONS

Article 16. Formation of Electoral Sections

In order to conduct the voting and count the votes in elections of people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR, the territory of the rayons, cities, rayons in cities, villages and rural soviets is divided up into electoral sections which are the same for election of people's deputies of the corresponding rayon or lower soviets, city and rayon in city soviets. The electoral sections are formed in military units as well and are included in electoral okrugs for elections of people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR from the USSR Armed Forces.

For ships that are at sea on the day of the election one can form electoral okrugs according to the port of registration of the ship, and electoral sections formed on ships of fishing kolkhozes [collective farms]—at the place where the kolkhoz board is located.

Article 17. Policy and Norm for Formation of Electoral Sections

Electoral sections are formed by rayon, city (except for cities with rayon jurisdiction) and rayon in city soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums taking into account the boundaries of the electoral okrugs. On ships that are at sea on the day of the elections the electoral sections are formed by the soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums at the port of registration of the ship or the location of the kolkhoz board, respectively. In military units the electoral sections are formed by the unit commanders with the agreement of the corresponding soviet of people's deputies or its presidium.

Electoral sections are formed no later than the 12th day after the scheduling of the elections. In military units and on ships that are at sea on the day of the elections the electoral sections are formed by the same deadline and in exceptional cases no later than 5 days before the elections. Electoral sections are formed with no less than 20 and no more than 3,000 voters. In exceptional cases the local soviet of people's deputies or its presidium or else the commander of the military unit has the right to form an electoral section with a larger number of voters.

The corresponding local soviet of people's deputies establishes a numeration of electoral units that is unified within the rayon, city, or rayon in city and notifies the voters of the boundaries of each electoral section with an indication of the location of the section electoral commission and the polling place.

4. ELECTORAL COMMISSIONS

Article 18. The System of Electoral Commissions

Electoral commissions are formed to conduct elections of people's deputies of rayon, city, rayon in city, village, and rural soviets of the Latvian SSR:

The Central Electoral Commission of the Latvian SSR; rayon electoral commissions for elections of people's deputies of rayon soviets; city electoral commissions for elections of people's deputies of city soviets; rayon in city electoral commissions for elections of people's deputies of rayon in city soviets; rural electoral commissions for elections of people's deputies of rural soviets; section electoral commissions.

Article 19. Formation of Central Electoral Commission of the Latvian SSR

The Central Electoral Commission of the Latvian SSR is formed by the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR taking into account the suggestions of the rayon and city (cities under republic jurisdiction) soviets of people's deputies and their presidiums, and the republic agencies of social organizations no later than the fifth day after the scheduling of elections, including a chairman, two deputies, a secretary, and 29 commission members.

The Central Electoral Commission of the Latvian SSR stays in office for 5 years.

Article 20. Authority of the Central Election Commission of the Latvian SSR

The Central Election commission of the Latvian SSR: 1) throughout the entire territory of the Latvian SSR, monitors the implementation of the current law and provides for its uniform application; if necessary, requests that Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet interpret the present law;

2) directs the activity of electoral commissions and determines the policy for making changes in the composition of the electoral commissions;

- 3) distributes monetary funds among the electoral commissions, checks on the provision of electoral commissions with premises, transportation, and communications, and considers other issues related to material and technical support for elections;
- 4) establishes the forms of election ballots, voter lists, minutes of preceding meetings and assemblies of electoral commissions, and other election documents and models of ballot boxes and seals of electoral commissions, and the policy for storing election documents;
- 5) hears communications from electoral commissions of state and social agencies concerning questions related to preparing for and conducting elections of people's deputies of local soviets;
- 6) sums up the results of the elections of people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR for the republic as a whole and publishes a report of the election results in the press;
- 7) considers applications and complaints about decisions and actions of electoral commissions and makes a final decision regarding them;
- 8) turns over to investigation agencies materials concerning violations of the law on elections of people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR which entail criminal liability;
- 9) exercises other authority in keeping with the present law and other laws of the Latvian SSR.

Article 21. Formation of Rayon, City, Rayon in City, Village, and Rural Electoral Commissions

Rayon, city, rayon in city, village, and rural electoral commissions are formed by the corresponding soviet of people's deputies or its presidium no later than 10 days after the scheduling of elections and consist of 7-13 members.

Representatives in the rayon, city, rayon in city, village, and rural electoral commissions are nominated by the labor collectives or their soviets and general assemblies (assemblies of authorized individuals) or kolkhoz boards, student collectives, rayon, city, and rayon in city agencies of social organizations and also assemblies of military servicemen in their military units.

The term of office of rayon, city, rayon in city, village, and rural electoral commissions is 5 years.

Article 22. Authority of Rayon, City, Rayon in City, Village, and Rural

Rayon, city, rayon in city, village, and rural electoral commissions for elections of people's deputies of rayon, city, rayon in city, village, and rural soviets:

- 1) on the territory of the rayon, city, rayon in city, village, and rural soviet, exercise control over the implementation of the present law during the course of preparing for and conducting elections of people's deputies of the corresponding local soviet;
- 2) directs the activity of section electoral commissions;

- 3) hears reports from section electoral commissions, local state and social organizations, and leaders of enterprises, institutions, and organizations concerning questions related to preparing for and conducting the elections;

- 4) contributes to the organization of the nomination of candidate deputies; registers nominated candidate deputies and issues them the appropriate credentials; provides for the publication of posters with biographical information about the candidate deputies and approves the text of the ballots;

- 5) supervises the compilation of the voter lists and their presentation for general familiarization;

- 6) checks on the provision of section electoral commissions with premises, transportation, and communications, and considers other issues of material and technical support for elections;

- 7) on the form established by the central electoral commission provides for the manufacture of ballots for the elections in to the corresponding soviet of people's deputies;

- 8) registers elected people's deputies, sums up the results of the election, publishes a report of the election results and a list of elected people's deputies, and issues certificates to elected deputies;

- 9) turns over to the mandate commission of the corresponding soviet of people's deputies the documentation necessary for verifying the credentials of the deputies;

- 10) makes a decision concerning repeat voting and runoff elections;

- 11) checks on the observance of the requirements of the law concerning questions related to organizing and conducting a recall of people's deputies of local soviets;

- 12) organizes elections of people's deputies of local soviets to replace deputies who have departed and provides for conducting them;

- 13) considers applications and complaints about incorrect actions of section electoral commissions and makes decisions regarding them;

- 14) exercises other authority in keeping with the present law.

Article 23. Formation of Section Electoral Commissions

The section electoral commission is formed no later than on the 13th day after the scheduling of the elections and consists of 3-19 people.

Representatives on the section electoral commission are nominated by the labor collectives or their soviets, student collectives, general assemblies (assemblies of authorized individuals) or boards of kolkhozes, rayon, city, and rayon in city agencies of other social organizations, voter assemblies at the place of residence, and military servicemen in their military units. The meeting of voters in the place of residence is authorized to nominate representatives to the section electoral commission if no less than 50 voters participate.

Section electoral commissions are approved by rayon, city (except for city of rayon jurisdiction), and rayon in city soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums consisting of nominated candidates including representatives of all the main social groups.

Article 24. Authority of Section Electoral Commissions

The section electoral commission:

- 1) organizes in conjunction with labor collectives, student collectives, and social organizations meetings between deputy candidates and voters both in the collectives and in the place of residence;
- 2) compiles a list of voters in the section;
- 3) familiarizes the voters with the voter list, accepts and considers reports of mistakes in the list, and solves the problem of making the appropriate changes in it;
- 4) accepts from voters intending to be absent from their place of residence or their agents ballots or election envelopes;
- 5) notifies the population of the day of the election and the polling place;
- 6) provides for preparation of polling places and ballot boxes;
- 7) organizes voting in the electoral section on the day of the elections;
- 8) counts the votes cast in the electoral section;
- 9) considers applications and complaints regarding questions of preparing for elections and organizing voting and makes decisions regarding them;
- 10) exercises other authority in keeping with the present law.

Article 25. Organization of the Work of Electoral Commissions

The chairman, deputy chairman, and secretary of the rayon, city, rayon in city, village, and rural soviets are nominated for the electoral okrugs.

Meetings of the electoral commission are authorized if no less than two-thirds of the commission participate in them. Commission decisions are made by open voting with the majority of the votes of the overall composition of the commission. Members of the commission who do not agree with its decision have the right to express a special opinion which is appended to the minutes in written form and sent for the consideration of the higher electoral commission.

Decisions of electoral commissions adopted within the limits of their authority are mandatory for execution by all state and social agencies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

Decisions and actions of the electoral commission can be appealed to the higher electoral commission and, in cases stipulated by the present law, also to the courts.

By a decision of the electoral commission its members can be released during the period of preparing for and conducting elections from the performance of production or other job duties. They are provided with earnings no less than their average earnings from funds allotted for conducting the elections.

A member of the electoral commission does not have the right to participate in agitation for or against the candidates for people's deputies.

Article 26. Assisting Electoral Commissions in Exercising Their Authority

State and social agencies, enterprises, institutions, organizations, and officials are obliged to assist the electoral commissions in exercising their authority and grant them the information and materials necessary for their work, and also to place representatives at the disposal of the electoral commissions to provide them with information so they can implement the individual instructions of the commissions.

Regarding questions related to preparing for and conducting elections, the electoral commission has the right to go to state and social agencies, and enterprises, institutions, organizations, and officials who must consider the question that has been raised and give the electoral commission an answer within no more than 3 days.

5. VOTER LISTS

Article 27. The Vote List and the Procedure for Compiling It

The voter list is compiled for each electoral section and is signed by the chairman and secretary of the section electoral commission. The section electoral commission can enlist representatives of the public to participate in the work of compiling the list.

Executive committees of city, rayon in city, village, and rural soviets of people's deputies provide for a count of the voters and submit to the section electoral commissions information about voters living on the corresponding territory which is necessary for compiling the voter lists and render assistance in compiling voter lists.

Lists of voters who are military servicemen are compiled on the basis of data submitted by commanders of military units and chiefs of military institutions.

Lists of voters in electoral sections formed on ships at sea on the day of the elections are compiled on the basis of data submitted by the ship captains.

The names of voters are indicated on the voter lists according to a procedure that is convenient for the organization of voting.

Article 28. The Policy for Including Citizens on Voter Lists

The voter list includes all citizens of the Latvian SSR who have reached 18 years of age by the day of the election who at the time of the compilation of the list are living permanently on the territory of the given electoral section and who have the right to participate in the voting. For the application of the present law the place of permanent residence is the place of the permanent residence permit with the exception of students in educational institutions whose place of residence is the place of the residence permit for the time of their education.

The military servicemen's voters list includes all military servicemen performing military service in a unit located on the territory of the corresponding local soviet of

people's deputies of the Latvian SSR and are assigned to the given electoral section, regardless of whether they have citizenship in the Latvian SSR.

A voter may not be included on a voters list in another electoral section outside his place of residence.

A voter who is at sea on the day of the elections is excluded from the voters list of the electoral section in the place of his permanent residence.

Article 29. Familiarization of Citizens With Voter Lists and the Right to Complain About Mistakes in Voter Lists

Voter lists are submitted to general examination a month before the elections.

Citizens are given the opportunity to examine the voter lists and check its correctness on the premises of the section electoral commission.

Each citizen is given the right to complain about not being included, being included incorrectly, or being excluded from the list, and also mistakes in the data about the voter on the list. A report of mistakes on the list is considered by the section electoral commission, which must consider the report within no more than 2 days and, on the eve of the election, immediately, and make the necessary corrections to the list or give the complaining party a copy of a substantiated decision not to act on his report. This decision can be appealed no later than 5 days before the elections to the rayon (city) people's court, which must consider the complaint within 3 days. The correction to the voter list in keeping with the court decision is made immediately by the section electoral commission.

6. NOMINATION AND REGISTRATION OF CANDIDATES FOR PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

Article 30. Deadlines for Nomination of Candidates for People's Deputies of Local Soviets of the Latvian SSR

The nomination of candidates for people's deputies of the local soviets of the Latvian SSR begins 3 months before the elections and ends 2 months before them

Article 31. The Procedure for Nominating Candidates for People's Deputies of Local Soviets of the Latvian SSR

Candidates for people's deputies of rayon, city, rayon in city, village, and rural are nominated for the electoral okrugs.

Candidates for people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR are nominated by labor collectives, student collectives, social organizations, and voter assemblies at the place of residence and for military servicemen in the units.

Candidates are nominated for deputies at assemblies (conferences) of labor collectives of enterprises, institutions, and organizations located on the territory of the corresponding electoral okrug. The collective of a branch or subdivision also has the right to nominate a candidate deputy.

Candidates for deputies are nominated by rayon, city, and rayon in city agencies of social organizations, their local organizations, and also general assemblies (assemblies of authorized individuals) of kolkhozes.

The voter meeting in the place of residence is convened for the nomination of deputy candidates by the soviet of people's deputies or its presidium in conjunction with the electoral commission or on the initiative of the voters. The meeting is legal if it is attended by no less than the number of people living on the territory of the corresponding okrug established by the rayon, city, rayon in city, village, or rural electoral commission.

Assemblies of military servicemen for nominating candidates for people's deputies are convened by the command of the military units and are legal if no less than half of the personnel of the military unit are in attendance.

No later than 3 days before conducting a meeting for nominating a candidate deputy, this is announced by the corresponding electoral commission and the announcement is posted in places accessible to all interested parties.

Before the opening of the meeting its legitimacy is established on the basis of the registration results of participants. Each participant in the meeting has the right to make suggestions for candidate deputies, participate in the discussion of them, support proposed candidates or suggest withdrawing them. A participant in the meeting can submit his own name for discussion as a candidate deputy. The decision concerning the nomination of the candidate for people's deputy is made at the meeting by open voting or a secret ballot. The sequence of the discussion of candidacies, the policy for voting, and other procedural issues are decided by those in attendance at the meeting.

The meeting can nominate one deputy candidate from each okrug. A candidate is considered to be nominated if he has received the votes of more than half of the participants in the meeting or the majority of the members of the corresponding agency of the social organization, and each participant in the meeting or session has the right to vote for one candidate. A report is drawn up concerning the nomination of a deputy candidate and within 3 days it is submitted to the rayon, city, rayon in city, village, or rural electoral commission. The candidate for people's deputy is notified of the decision within no more than 2 days.

Article 32. Minutes of Meetings (Sessions) for Nominating Candidates for People's Deputies of Local Soviets

The minutes of the meeting (session) for nominating candidates for people's deputies of local soviets are kept by a secretary elected by the meeting (session). The minutes show: the initiator of the convening of the meeting, the name of the labor collective, student collective, agency of a social organization, population point, or city microrayon in which the meeting of residents is convened; the overall number of members of the labor collective, student collective, or agency of social organization, or residents of the population point or microrayon; the number of participants in the meeting (session); information about the leadership of the meeting and the course of the meeting with an indication of all who spoke and the content of their speeches and proposals made by them; the course and results of the voting for nominating candidates for people's deputies. The minutes also indicate the people authorized to represent the collective, agency of social organization, or meeting and the sessions of the electoral commissions.

The minutes are signed by the presidium of the meeting and are certified with the stamp of the corresponding enterprise, institution, organization, agency of social organization, or executive committee of local soviet of people's deputies.

Appended to the minutes is a list of people in attendance at the meeting with an indication of the surname, given name, patronymic, year of birth, and place of work and residence.

Article 33. Registration of Candidates for People's Deputies of Local Soviets of the Latvian SSR

The registration of candidates for people's deputies of rayon, city, rayon in city, village, and rural electoral commissions begins 2 months before the day of the elections and ends one month before them.

The decision concerning registration of candidate deputies is made when the following documents are available: the minutes of the meetings (sessions) for the nomination of candidate deputies for the given electoral okrug and statements from the candidate deputies indicating their agreement to vote in a given electoral okrug. The statement of the individual nominated as candidate deputy is submitted by the electoral commission no later than 3 days after the expiration of the time period for nominating candidates for people's deputies of the Latvian SSR. Individuals listed in Article 11 of the present law, when they are nominated as candidate deputies, indicate in their statements their intention to leave the positions they hold in the event that they are elected as deputies or they make notification in writing of the withdrawal of their candidacies.

A candidate deputy can vote in one and the same local soviet of people's deputies of the Latvian SSR only in one electoral okrug.

The corresponding electoral commission registers candidate deputies nominated in observance of the requirements of the present law. A refusal of registration can be appealed within 3 days to the Central Electoral Commission of the Latvian SSR or to the court.

A report on the registration of candidate deputies is drawn up by the electoral commission on the form established by the Central Electoral Commission of the Latvian SSR.

Candidate deputies may not be on the Central Electoral Commission of the Latvian SSR. A member of the electoral commission who has been nominated as a candidate deputy for the okrug on whose territory the electoral commission operates is considered relieved of his commission duties as soon as he is registered as a candidate deputy.

Article 34. Revocation of a Decision to Nominate and Register a Candidate for People's Deputies of Local Soviets. Withdrawal of Candidacy by Candidate

The labor collective, student collective, agency of social organization, meeting of voters at the place of residence, and military servicemen in military units who nominate a candidate for people's deputies of local soviets have the right no later than 5 days before the election to revoke their decision to nominate the candidate deputy. The decision regarding this issue is made under the policy envisioned for nominating candidate deputies and is submitted to the rayon, city, rayon in city, village, or rural electoral commission. A revocation by all collectives and organizations of their decision to nominate a candidate means for the unregistered candidate a refusal to register his candidacy, and for the registered candidate—a revocation of the registration.

A candidate deputy can withdraw his nomination no later than 5 days before the elections by notifying the corresponding electoral commission of this in writing.

Article 35. The Procedure for Nominating Candidate People's Deputies of Local Soviets of the Latvian SSR to Replace Those who Have Departed

In the event of the departure of a candidate for people's deputies of local soviets after the end of the period for registration of candidate deputies, if there are no other candidates in the electoral okrug, the corresponding electoral commission addresses the labor collectives, student collectives, social organizations, and meetings of voters in the place of residence or military servicemen in the military units with a proposal to nominate new candidate deputies.

In the event of the revocation of a decision to nominate a candidate deputy or the candidate deputy's withdrawal of his own candidacy after the end of the period for nominating candidate deputies, regardless of whether there are other candidates in the electoral okrug, the corresponding electoral commission at the request of the labor collectives, student collectives, or meetings of voters at the place of residence, or military servicemen representing no less than one-tenth of the voters of the corresponding okrug make a decision to assign an additional 2-week period for nominating a candidate to replace the one who was withdrawn.

If it is impossible in the time left before the elections to nominate, register, and hold discussions of a new candidate deputy, the election of the deputies from the corresponding electoral okrug is held within 2 months after the general elections.

The nomination of candidate deputies to replace those who have departed is carried out according to the policy established by the present law.

Article 36. The Ballot

The ballot includes in alphabetical order all the registered candidate people's deputies of the local soviet of the Latvian SSR with an indication of the surname, given name, patronymic, position held (employment) and place of work and residence of each candidate deputy. The ballots are printed in Latin and Russian.

7. GUARANTEES OF THE ACTIVITY OF CANDIDATE PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES OF LOCAL SOVIETS

Article 37. The Right of the Candidate Deputy to Speak at Meetings, Use the Mass Media, and Obtain Information

Candidate people's deputies from the time of their registration by the electoral commissions have equal rights and they are granted equal opportunities to speak at pre-election meetings and other meetings, conferences, sessions, in the press, and on television and radio.

State and social agencies, leaders of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and commanders of military units are obliged to render to the candidate people's deputies assistance in organizing meetings with voters and obtaining the necessary reference and informational materials.

Creating obstacles to meetings between candidate deputies and the people entails criminal liability.

Article 38. The Pre-Election Program of the Candidate People's Deputy

The candidate people's deputy presents a program of his future activity. The program of the candidate deputy should not be directed against the foundations of the

state and social structure that are reinforced in the USSR Constitution and the Latvian SSR Constitution and should not contain propaganda of war or appeals for national hatred or encroachment on the constitutional rights of the citizens.

Article 39. Agents of Candidate People's Deputies of Local Soviets

Candidate people's deputies can have up to five agents who help him to conduct his electoral campaign, conduct agitation for his election as deputy, and represent his interests in relations with state and social agencies, the voters, members of social organizations, and also in the electoral commissions.

After their nomination the candidate deputies determine their agents at their own discretion and report their names for registration in the rayon, city, rayon in city, village, or rural electoral commission. From the time of their registration the agents have a right to conduct agitation for their candidate. After their registration the electoral commission gives the agents credentials.

At the request of the candidate people's deputy the agent can for a time carry out public duties related to the elections and be released from production or job responsibilities while retaining his average earnings in his place of employment. Associated expenditures made by the enterprises, institutions, and organizations in relation to this are reimbursed at their request with money allotted for conducting the elections.

The agent may not be a member of the electoral commission.

Article 40. Pre-Election Agitation

Labor collectives, student collectives, voters at their place of residence who have nominated candidate deputies, and agents of candidate deputies are granted the right to campaign freely for their candidates.

Labor collectives, student collectives, voters in their place of residence, and social organizations are given by the electoral commissions equipped premises for meetings and rallies and also mass media for conducting pre-election agitation.

Latvian SSR citizens, labor collectives, student collectives, voters in their places of residence, and social organizations are guaranteed the opportunity to freely and comprehensively discuss the political, business, and personal qualities of the candidate, his ability to perform the duties of a deputy, the program of his future activity, and also the right to agitate for or against candidates at meetings, in the press, and on television and radio.

Candidate people's deputies meet with their constituents both at meetings and in other ways that are convenient for the voters. The voter meetings are organized by the section electoral commission in conjunction with the corresponding soviet of people's deputies or its presidium.

On instructions from the electoral commissions, the voters are familiarized with the biographical data of the candidate deputies and their pre-election programs by informers who have the right to campaign for or against any of the candidate people's deputies. Campaigning is not allowed on the day of the elections.

Article 41. Release of a Candidate People's Deputy of the Local Soviet From his Production or Job Duties for Participation in Pre-Election Measures

The candidate people's deputy after registration for a time for holding meetings with the voters and speeches at pre-election meetings and rallies and on radio and television is released from the performance of production or job duties while retaining his average earnings at his place of employment using funds allotted for conducting elections and he is not called for military reserve camp.

Article 42. The Right of the Candidate People's Deputy to Free Travel

The candidate people's deputy after registration has the right to free travel on all kinds of passenger transportation (except taxis) within the corresponding local soviet.

Article 43. Immunity of a Candidate People's Deputy

A candidate deputy cannot be held criminally liable, detained, arrested, or subjected to search or administrative measures imposed judicially without the agreement of the Central Electoral Commission of the Latvian SSR. In the event of threats against the person of the candidate people's deputy, members of his family, or his property, the state provides for their safety.

8. PROCEDURE FOR VOTING AND TOTALING ELECTION RESULTS. REGISTRATION OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

Article 44. Time and Place of Voting

For elections of people's deputies of local soviets the voting is held on the day of the elections from 7 am to 8 pm local time. The section electoral commission notifies the voters of the time and place of the voting no later than 10 days before the elections.

In electoral sections formed on ships and in military units the section electoral commission can declare the voting completed at any time if all the voters included on the list have voted.

Article 45. Organization of Voting

Voting is conducted in specially assigned premises which should be equipped with a sufficient number of booths or rooms for secret voting and in which places are designated for obtaining ballots, and ballot boxes are installed. The ballot boxes are installed in such a way that in order for the voters to get to them they must go through the booths or rooms for secret voting.

The responsibility for conducting the voting, insuring the secrecy of the expression of the will of the voters, equipping the premises, and maintaining the necessary order in them lies with the section electoral commission.

On the day of the elections before the beginning of the voting the ballot boxes are checked and sealed or stamped by the chairman of the section electoral commission in the presence of all members of the commission.

Each voter votes personally; voting for other people is not allowed. Ballots are issued by the section electoral commission on the basis of the list of voters of the electoral section upon presentation of the passport or other identification. A check mark is made on the voter list when the ballot is issued.

In the event that certain voters, because of their health or other reasons, are unable to come to the polling place, the section electoral commission, at their request, instructs individual members of the commission to organize voting in the place where these voters are. In this case no less than two members of the commission participate in the organization of the voting.

Article 46. Conducting the Voting

Ballots are filled out by the voters in a booth or room for secret voting. Nobody except the voter is allowed to be present when the ballot is being filled out. A voter who is unable to fill out the ballot by himself has a right to invite another person into the booth or room at his own discretion except for a member of the electoral commission.

When filling out each ballot the voter leaves the name of the candidate for whom he is voting and crosses out all the rest.

The voter drops the completed ballot into the ballot box.

Article 47. Procedure for Voting by Electors who are Absent From Their Place of Residence on the Day of the Elections

A voter who cannot be at his place of residence on the day of the elections (if he has a pass to a sanitarium, a house of recreation, a prescription for a therapeutic institution, a business trip, vacation, and so forth) has the right to fill out his ballot early and submit it to the electoral commission at his place of residence.

No sooner than 20 days before the election the voter may obtain ballots in the electoral section. The ballots are issued to the voter by a member of the section electoral commission on the basis of the voter list upon presentation of the passport or other identification, and a check mark is made on the voter list.

The voter who has obtained his ballot under conditions that preclude monitoring his voting crosses out on the ballot the names of the candidate deputies against whom he is voting and leaves the ballot in a special sealed ballot box for voters who are absent from their place of residence on the day of the election.

In cases in which the voters cannot personally obtain ballots from the electoral commission in their place of residence (because of being in the hospital, some other permanent therapeutic institution, or for other reasons), they have the right to instruct another individual to obtain the ballot with an authorization that is legally certified.

The voter's agent is given the ballots and the envelope. The voting documents are issued to the agent of the voter by a member of the section electoral commission according to the voter list and upon presentation of the voter's identification, after which a check mark is made on the voter list.

After receiving the ballots and envelope from his agent, the voter inserts his ballots in the envelope after having crossed out on the ballots the names of the candidate deputies he is voting against. The voter gives the sealed envelope to his agent who, at the electoral section before the end of the voting, drops the envelope in the ballot box for votes of voters who are absent from their place of residence on the day of the elections.

Article 48. The Voting Policy for Voters who are at Sea

Members of the crew of a ship that is at sea on the day of the election vote in the electoral section formed on the ship.

Voting is conducted on the ship and the results are documented in keeping with the requirements of the present law. The results of the voting are immediately reported to the rayon, city, rayon in city, village, or rural electoral commission.

Members of a ship's crew who were at sea when the ballots were available at the electoral section in their place of residence vote according to the policy stipulated by Article 47 of the present law.

Article 49. Counting Votes in Electoral Section

In the electoral section votes are counted individual for each electoral okrug and for each candidate deputy.

Ballot boxes are closed by the section electoral commission after the commission chairman declares the voting to be ended. Closing the ballot boxes before the end of the voting is prohibited. Before the closing of the ballot boxes all unused ballots are counted and canceled by the section electoral commission.

From the voter list the section electoral commission establishes the overall number of voters who have received ballots. On the basis of the ballots in the ballot boxes, for each electoral okrug the commission determines: the overall number of voters who have participated in the voting; the number of votes cast for and the number of votes cast against each candidate deputy; and the number of ballots that have been invalidated. Votes are not counted for names that have been added to the ballots by the voters.

Ballots without the established form, ballots on which the names of more than one candidate have been left, and also ballots of voters who voted before the day of the elections for candidate deputies who withdrew their candidacies or whose registrations were invalidated are declared invalid. Ballots on which all the names have been crossed out are considered valid, but votes from them are counted as being cast against all the candidates. When there is doubt about the validity of a ballot the question is resolved by the section electoral commission through voting.

The results of the vote count are considered at the meeting of the section electoral commission and are entered in the report which is drawn up individually for each electoral okrug. The report is signed by the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members of the commission and is sent to the corresponding rayon, city, rayon in city, village or rural electoral commission.

Appended to the report are special opinions of members of the commission, statements and complaints that have come to the commission concerning violations committed during the course of the voting or during the counting of the votes, and a document drawn up in the event of damage to the stamp or seal on the ballot box.

Article 50. Establishment of the Results of the Election and Registration of People's Deputies of Local Soviets of the Latvian SSR

The results of the elections for the various okrugs and the corresponding soviets of people's deputies are established by the rayon, city, rayon in city, village or rural electoral commission.

On the basis of the reports of the section electoral commissions, the rayon, city, rayon in city, village, or rural electoral commission determines for the given okrug: the overall number of voters, the number of

voters who have received ballots, the number of voters who have participated in the voting, the number of votes for and against each candidate deputy, and the number of ballots invalidated.

A candidate people's deputy of a local soviet of the Latvian SSR is considered elected if in the elections he has received more than half of the votes of the voters who participated in the voting. The electoral commission registers the deputies elected for each okrug. A report of the registration of people's deputies of local soviets is drawn up according to a form established by the Central Electoral Commission of the Latvian SSR.

The rayon, city, rayon in city, village or rural electoral commission may refuse to register deputies or declare the elections invalid because of violations of the present law committed during the course of the elections or while counting the votes.

The elections are considered invalid if less than half of the voters included on the voter list participated in them and also in the event that a only one candidate deputy has been registered for the okrug.

The results of the elections for the various electoral okrugs are reported by the corresponding rayon, city, rayon in city, village, or rural electoral commission no later than the fifth day after the elections. The report also includes the overall number of citizens included on the voter lists; the number of votes cast for and against each candidate; the number of invalidated ballots; the surname, given name, patronymic, position held (employment), party status, and place of work and residence of the elected deputy.

The rayon, city, rayon in city, village, or rural electoral commission sends the report on the results of the elections to the Central Electoral Commission of the Latvian SSR within 3 days.

Article 51. Certificate and Badge of People's Deputy of Local Soviet of the Latvian SSR

The rayon, city, rayon in city, village, or rural electoral commission after registration issues each elected people's deputy a certificate of his election.

After approval by the corresponding soviet of people's deputies of the commission of the elected deputies, the certificates of their election as deputies that they have been given are replaced by deputy credentials. The deputy is also given the badge of the people's deputy of the local soviet of the Latvian SSR.

9. RUNOFFS, REPEAT ELECTIONS, AND ELECTIONS OF PEOPLES DEPUTIES OF LOCAL SOVIETS OF THE LATVIAN SSR TO REPLACE FORMER DEPUTIES

Article 52. Runoffs

If in the electoral okrug ballots have been cast for more than two candidate people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR and none of them has been elected, the rayon, city, rayon in city, village, or rural electoral commission makes a decision to conduct for the okrug a runoff of the two candidate deputies who have received the most votes. The electoral commission reports its decision to the Central Electoral Commission of the Latvian SSR and informs the voters of the okrug.

The runoff in the electoral okrug is conducted within no more than a 2-week period in observance of the requirements of the present law.

A candidate people's deputy of a local soviet of the Latvian SSR is considered elected if he has received in the runoff a larger number of votes than the other candidate did from voters who participated in the voting. If on the day of the voting there is only one candidate left in the electoral okrug, he is considered elected if he receives more than half of the votes of the voters who have participated in the voting.

Article 53. Repeat Elections

If in the electoral okrug votes have been cast for no more than two candidate people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR and neither of them has been elected, or the elections for the electoral okrug have been declared invalid, or the voting has not made it possible to determine the elected deputy, the rayon, city, city in rayon, village, or rural electoral commission makes a decision to conduct repeat elections in the electoral okrug. Here it can make a decision concerning the need for the elections to be conducted by section electoral commissions made up of new people. The voting is conducted for the same electoral sections and according to voter lists drawn up when the general elections were conducted.

Repeat elections are conducted no later than 2 months after the general elections. The formation of section electoral commissions, the registration of candidate deputies, and other measures are conducted under the policy established by the present law.

Article 54. In the event that the local soviet of people's deputies of the Latvian SSR declares the commissions of individual people's deputies invalid and also in the event that a deputy is recalled or his authority ceases for other reasons in the corresponding electoral okrugs, new elections are held within 3 months of the departure of the deputy. The elections are scheduled by the corresponding rayon, city, rayon in city, village, or rural soviet of people's deputies or its presidium no later than 2 months before they are to be held and they are organized in observance of the requirements of the present law. Here the section electoral commissions are formed 50 days before the elections and the registration of the candidate deputies is completed a month before the elections.

In the event of the departure of a people's deputy of a

local soviet of the Latvian SSR no less than 6 months before the expiration of the term of office of people's deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR, elections are not held for a new deputy to replace the departing one.

[Signed] Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR
Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR

Latvian Supreme Soviet Session Postponed

LD1406124689 Riga in Latvian to Europe
2005 GMT 11 Jun 89

[From the "Amber Coast" program]

[Text] At a regular meeting of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium on Thursday [8 June], it was decided to proclaim 14 June as the day of remembrance for the victims of Stalinist terror. Also, a resolution on the rehabilitation of those citizens who were deported from the Latvian SSR territory in the 1940's and 1950's was adopted at the meeting.

In addition, it has been decided to postpone convening of the 12th session of the Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation from 16 June to 27-29 July.

Chernobyl Radiation Medical Effects Described

18400504 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Professor O. Pyatak, doctor of medical sciences; V. Matyukhin, academician of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences; and Professor A. Tsyb, corresponding member of the Academy of Medical Sciences: "Chernobyl: Radiation and Health"]

[Text] PRAVDA readers S. Nurmagedov, V. Timofeyeva, A. Popov, P. Khabrenko, L. Bardagova, and others ask that we report on the effects of the Chernobyl accident on people's health.

We are responding to this request.

As a result of the accident in the fourth power-generating unit of the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station], various degrees of radioactive contamination occurred in many regions. It was most distinctly apparent in Kiev, Zhitomir, Gomel, Mogilev, and Bryansk Oblasts, where the levels of contamination brought the complex problems of the security of the population to the attention of medical and other services.

Accident levels of overall individual irradiation dosage were established for the population of areas that were subject to the greatest radiation exposure: for the first year, up to 10 rem [roentgen equivalent] (which is 2.5 times lower than the permissible level of the accident irradiation of personnel); for the second year, 3 rem; and

for the third year, 2.5 rem, which is 15.5 rem for the 3 post-accident years. What is the real magnitude of exposure dosages of various groups of the population?

In areas of strict control, numbering 786 settlements and 272,800 persons: In the 3 post-accident years, the dosages for 62.1 percent of this population (in 431 settlements) were on the order of 1-5 rem; for 33.6 percent of the population (in 289 settlements), 5-10 rem; for 3.1 percent of the population (in 47 settlements), 10-15 rem, and for 1.2 percent of the population (in 19 settlements), 15-17.3 rem.

Now about the effect of Iodine-131. Here there are other tolerance levels.

The internal irradiation dosages of thyroid glands were established for 1.5 million persons (of whom 160,000 were children up to 7 years of age at the time of the accident) who were living in zones of the greatest Iodine-131 contamination. Estimates show that dosages for 87 percent of the adults did not exceed 30 rem; for 11 percent of the adults, the dosages were in the 30-100 rem range; and for 2 percent of the adults, the dosages exceeded 100 rem. For children, the distribution of dosage loads on the thyroid glands turned out to be somewhat different: The dosage did not exceed 30 rem for 48 percent of the children; it was 30-100 rem for 35 percent of the children, and higher than 100 rem for 17 percent of the children.

Thus, we can say there are people who have increased dosages of overall irradiation, especially irradiation of the thyroid gland; it is they who are given priority attention and who are given thorough examinations with the involvement of endocrinologists, hematologists, and other specialists. Intensive work is going on now on a retrospective reconstruction of the scope of individual dosages in the entire population that was exposed to radiation, and, in the main, we will conclude it this year.

To arrive at an objective estimate of the state of health of the entire population exposed to radiation as a result of the accident, more than 600,000 persons (including 215,300 children) were given various kinds of medical examination in a short time. Almost 25,000 adults and 12,600 children were examined in permanent clinics and hospitals. All of this required the involvement of substantial medical forces and means. The entire network of health establishments of the Ukraine, Belorussia, and individual areas of the Russian Federation were activated in the very first days to provide effective medical assistance to areas with increased levels of radioactive contamination. About 2,000 physician-nurse teams were created, and a considerable number of scientific workers were brought in, in addition to almost 7,000 physicians, 12,700 medium-level medical workers, more than 1,200 students in upper classes of medical institutes, and almost 2,000 specialists with engineering-technical qualifications for dosage-measuring operations. The number

of performed observations and research reached many millions. The data obtained were analyzed immediately and summarized, and operational decisions based on them were made.

A special system, including the organization of new and the reinforcement of existing scientific and practical work establishments, was set up to look after the state of health and to provide the necessary medical assistance for persons exposed to radiation as a result of the accident of the Chernobyl AES. The leader on these problems in Kiev was the All-Union Radiation Medical Center of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences consisting of three quite well-equipped institutes that have specialists of various profiles. Specialized republic dispensaries for the radiation protection of the population were organized in Moscow, Kiev, and Minsk. More than 1,000 additional medical worker positions were earmarked for work in the controlled areas. Medical equipment costing tens of millions of rubles was acquired. An Institute of Radiation Medicine of the Belorussian SSR Minzdrav [Ministry of Health] was organized in Minsk with a permanent facility and is in the process of formation. The scientific subject matter has been broadened in such specialized establishments of the country as the Institute of Biophysics of the USSR Minzdrav, the Institute of Medical Radiology of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, the Leningrad Scientific Research Institute of Radiation Hygiene of the RSFSR Minzdrav (which has opened a special laboratory in the city of Novozybkovo in Bryansk Oblast), and others.

An all-round ecological scientific program on the medical aspects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, in whose implementation more than 150 institutions of various ministries and departments are taking part, was formed in a short time and is being implemented.

One of the most important indicators of the health of a population is its sickness rate—both in general and with regard to special types of illnesses. Until recently the computation of many illnesses was conducted on the basis of data on the turnover of patients in treatment facilities, which, of course, did not reflect the true situation.

It must also be taken into account that medical assistance for the population was not at the necessary level in all of these areas in the preaccident period. Therefore today in resolving the tasks of eliminating the consequences of the accident, we must simultaneously eliminate the defects in the work of previous years. Up to the present time, with rare exceptions, all residents living in controlled territories have been given the minimum of a twofold medical examination with a general analysis of blood and urine and an examination by a general practitioner, and, for women, also an examination by an obstetrician-gynecologist and consultations with specialists if there are any symptoms or patient complaints.

Now we have a rather full picture of the sickness rate of the population in these areas. It turned out to be higher for a number of illnesses than was registered before the accident, which gave to some journalists and even medical workers reason to come to the conclusion that this occurred under the influence of radiation. To arrive at reliable and well-grounded findings on the reasons for the changes in the sickness rate indicators in the controlled areas (a more complete calculation, improvement in the quality of diagnostics, the effects of radiation or other factors), a parallel study is being made of the state of health of the population in areas that are similar in other characteristics but which have not been exposed to the effects of radiation. Taking all of the circumstances that have been set forth into account, there must also be an evaluation of the Chernobyl accident on health at the present time and in the long term.

Particular attention is being given to the so-called critical subpopulation with the highest demonstrated sensitivity to the exposure of ionizing radiation (this, first of all, is pregnant women, babies, and children). About 200,000 children annually are sent out of zones with increased radiation, for health improvement, to sanatoriums and Pioneer camps. During the period of the Chernobyl accident, more than 2,500 women living in the evacuation zone were in various stages of pregnancy. All of the necessary conditions were created for them, continuous medical monitoring was introduced, and many of them were housed in sanatoriums for the entire period. According to the data of specialists, their course of pregnancy did not change in comparison with the preaccident period (nonetheless, a significant number of women refused to give birth to the baby). More frequent hemorrhaging was observed during childbirth in a number of cases, but no other substantial differences were found. About 1,600 children were born and the state of their health did not differ from the state of health of newborn babies in other areas. No radionuclides were found in the organisms of the newborn babies. As for the infant and maternal death rate, it dropped sharply in this group by comparison with the preaccident period. This is indicative of our reserves and capabilities to work in an effective way, and the fact that it is possible even in the post-accident period to improve sharply the state of health of mothers and babies.

Definite demographic shifts took place, and an increased migration of the population was noted during the post-accident years in areas that were exposed to radioactive contamination. The size of the reproductive adult group decreased, family planning strategy changed, and the birthrate dropped noticeably in a number of places. Nonetheless, up to the present time many thousands of women have enjoyed the happiness of motherhood in the controlled territories. The specialists do not note substantial changes in the character of the course of pregnancy and childbirth. The mortality rate for children up to 1 year of age is not increasing, and in some oblasts, given the better work of medical personnel, it is even dropping. Numerical data are given in the table.

**Indices of Children's Death Rate
(per 1,000 born)**

Oblast, republic	Years			
	1985	1986	1987	1988
Kiev Oblast	13.6	10.4	11.9	10.7
Zhitomir Oblast	14.6	13.4	14.5	11.2
Ukrainian SSR	15.7	14.8	14.4	13.9
Gomel Oblast	16.3	13.4	14.1	12.1
Mogilev Oblast	14.2	12.8	11.9	13.0
Belorussian SSR	14.5	13.4	13.4	13.2
Bryansk Oblast	18.4	17.2	18.6	17.2
RSFSR	20.7	19.3	19.2	19.4

The evaluation of the status of the health of children after the Chernobyl accident must be accomplished keeping a number of circumstances in mind. The Polesye [woodlands] and some other radioactively contaminated areas had peculiarities in the structure and distribution of illnesses in the child population even in the preaccident period. Applicable here are endemic goiter (pathology of thyroid glands), focal infections, and iron deficiency anemia. An examination of the entire child population in 1986 up to 14 years of age revealed a rather significant distribution of chronic ailments of the throat and nasopharynx. Why did these indicators turn out to be higher? In our firm opinion, it is a question first of all of an increase in the quality of diagnostics, which enabled a better assessment of the existing illnesses.

It is impossible to ignore still another reason. A child's body and its immune system are very sensitive even to insignificant changes in living conditions. And here a change in place of residence, changes in living conditions, nourishment, a transfer to schools and children's extended-day institutions, acclimatization to a new group—all of this places a considerable stress on the compensatory-adaptive mechanism of a child's body, and it is frequently accompanied by an aggravation or development of illnesses. During the period 1986-1988, a relative stability in children's illnesses occurred in these areas, which argues against its causal relationship with radiation (because the total individual dosages of radiation for 2 years, although insignificant, still increased).

There were no substantial changes for 3 years in the overall structure of illnesses of the adult population. As among children, as a result of the conduct of continuous medical examinations and a fuller accounting, more illnesses were registered among adults than before the accident. Analysis showed that in many cases we are dealing with illnesses that existed before the accident and which were not found in a timely way, and that previous illnesses had become worse.

A fundamentally important question arises: If no changes have been found in the structure and frequency of illnesses in children and adults to this day, can we come to the conclusion that the Chernobyl accident did not affect the state of health of the population, and that we can be calm about the future? No, and no once more!

First, because in later periods, especially with respect to persons who had large radiation dosages, indirect after-effects can result. Second, taking the concept of the so-called composite dosage into account, there is a risk in principle that inherent anomalies, oncological illnesses, and genetic aftereffects will develop. Third, and finally, the effect on health has to be evaluated not only from the standpoint of radiation exposure, but also from the standpoint of other factors connected to the Chernobyl accident: the evacuation of large masses of the population and the changes this causes in the usual daily routine and way of life.

In examining the possible indirect consequences of radiation, the problem of the action of radioactive iodine on the thyroid gland has the most meaningful role. Ionizing radiation in large dosages disrupts the activity of cells that process important hormones, whose deficiency can lead to hypothyroidism and mixedema.

Many years of experience in the use of radioactive iodine for diagnostic and treatment purposes indicates a significant stability of the thyroid gland with respect to radiation factors, and the fact that a steady lowering of its function in adults necessitates exposure 10 times higher than the dosage of this radionuclide that was incurred in the accident. The thyroid gland of children is somewhat more sensitive to radiation exposure, and the possibility is not excluded that hypothyroidism can occur among children in the course of 5-10 years after the accident. At a more distant time, some increase in the frequency of nodal forms of goiter and tumors of the thyroid gland is possible. The theoretical risk of the development of malignant tumors of the thyroid gland with a fatal outcome for the life span of the population of areas with the highest radioactive contamination, based on the size of the composite dosage, is 1 in 50,000 persons, and for children, 1 in 12,000. The development of thyroid gland tumors occurs slowly and rather definite changes precede it. Their timely detection and appropriate treatment create real preconditions not only for improving the outcome of possible thyroid gland damage, but also for preventing it in many cases. Therefore, one of the important tasks is a continuous and prolonged observation of the state of the thyroid gland of the population in controlled areas, and especially observation of children. For this purpose, endocrinological dispensaries have been established in controlled areas and endocrinological offices in each rayon hospital. Specialist endocrinologists are being sent to do this work, but they have to be equipped with modern diagnostic apparatuses.

Necessary research has been conducted since the first days of the accident and is continuing now. Many hundreds of thousands of analyses were performed during the so-called "iodine" period of the accident. A thyroid gland reaction in the form of slight abnormality, swelling, and an increase of its hormones in the blood was noted in the first weeks after the accident. These changes disappeared after several months. The alarm among the population about hyperplasia of the thyroid

gland seen in the examination of children is unfounded. In the 1950's in the Ukrainian and Belorussian Polesye, hyperplasia of the thyroid gland was found in 30-40 percent of children and, as a rule, it passed with age. At the present time, among children and adults of the controlled territories of the Ukrainian SSR, Belorussian SSR, and RSFSR, not one case of radiation-caused thyroid gland illness has been registered in the form of hypothyroidism or nodal goiter (not to mention its malignant tumors).

One of the earliest indirect aftereffects is severe leukemia. In areas exposed to radiation contamination, the preaccident level of these illnesses is being maintained, and according to the data of specialists, no cases of "redundant" severe leukemia in children were registered. According to the prognosis of scientists, the total increase in the rate of leukemia illnesses caused by the Chernobyl accident in areas of strict control (273,000 residents) can constitute from 1.5 to 2.1 percent by comparison with the usual "spontaneous" level of a given illness; that is, 1-1.5 possible additional cases of illness for 1 million persons in a year.

Malignant new growths are also categorized among the indirect aftereffects of radiation exposure, and an increase in their frequency can begin no earlier than 5-10 years later, depending on many reasons (size of the dosage, age, the presence of other illnesses or factors that contribute to carcinogenesis, and others). An estimate of the degree of risk of the occurrence of tumors caused by radiation is not possible without an overall analysis of the distribution of these illnesses. In the last 10-15 years, a noticeable increase has been noted in oncological pathology, especially in the economically developed countries. In Western Europe, for example, in a lifetime new malignant growths occur in 30 percent of men and in 25 percent of women, and by the year 2000 the overall risk can increase to 35 percent. The probability of an American becoming ill with cancer in a lifetime is now 35 percent, and by the end of the century it will increase to 45 percent. Specialists believe that cancer will already be the main cause of death among the U.S. population in 1995, putting cardiovascular illness in second place. In the USSR now tumors occur during the lives of about 27 percent of men and 18 percent of women, and an increase has been occurring in their frequency in the last 5-10 years (the rate of illness is growing annually by 1-4 percent). It is extremely difficult against this background to identify the tumors that developed as a result of exposure to ionizing irradiation. According to preliminary prognoses, they can increase the number of cases of oncological illnesses with fatal outcomes in areas of strict control by 0.5-0.7 percent (5-7 out of 1,000 cases of "normal" spontaneous deaths from cancer, and in other areas that were subject to radioactive fallout, their general level can increase by 0.01-0.04 percent—1-4 cases out of 10,000 cases). There are no data at the present time concerning cases of oncological illnesses whose occurrence can be associated with the Chernobyl accident. The frequency and distribution of new malignant

growths in the controlled areas change in the same degree as in areas that have not been exposed to radioactive contamination.

An important task of our health services is not only to estimate the state of health of the population that has been exposed to radioactivity as a result of the Chernobyl accident, but also to implement effective preventive and treatment measures that are aimed at eliminating or reducing possible negative aftereffects to the maximum possible extent. Special attention must be paid to groups of the population who are at an increased level of risk. This purpose is served by the all-union distribution register of persons exposed to radiation in connection with the accident at the Chernobyl AES. Many hundreds of scientists and specialists are working on its creation and use.

A further refinement and lowering of exposure dosages is of paramount significance. Iodine prophylaxis, evacuation from the 30-kilometer zone, the decontamination of work, a switch from local food products to products brought in from the outside, the removal of pregnant women and children for health improvement purposes, and other measures reduced by many times the amount of possible exposure dosages, in particular 50-80 percent of the possible irradiation dosages of the thyroid gland. At the present time, Soviet scientists-physicians have received detailed information on the magnitude of irradiation dosages that the people living in each settlement in controlled areas will receive for the rest of their lives. A scientifically based maximum radiation dosage limit of 35 rem to the year 2060 has been established in our country for inhabitants of these areas. Calculations have been made of expected dosages for the entire future life of residents in these areas, given the removal of all restrictions on the consumption of products produced on the personal plots of land in areas of strict control.

This limit will be maintained in 69.2 percent of the settlements, where 79.4 percent of the population of controlled areas live; in 17.7 percent of the settlements (14.1 percent of the population), it will be necessary to implement additional measures. But in 13.1 percent of the settlements, with 6.5 percent of the population, the expected dosage may exceed the established limit, and it will be necessary to decide the question of resettling the inhabitants. One cannot remain silent about the fact that about 1,000 persons (avoiding checkpoints) returned to the homes from which they were resettled without authorization. The union and republic ministries of health and their local organs and facilities have always considered such an unauthorized return, particularly the return of children, to be impermissible before the performance of the necessary decontamination and other measures for the creation of normal living conditions. This must be evaluated as directly damaging to one's health.

In the process of studying the state of health and the conduct of medical examinations of the population that was subject to radiation exposure, specialists turned

their attention to the fact that some illnesses are not occurring and appearing in the usual manner. This peculiarity is conditioned first of all by nervous-somatic disorders that are frequently observed in the population of controlled areas, and they are expressed most frequently of all in the form of autonomic dysfunctions. In executing direct "control" of the activity of many internal organs, the autonomic nervous system, when it malfunctions, contributes not only to a disturbance of the functions of organs, but also to the development of illnesses. The most important factor in the development of autonomic dysfunction is stress, nervous mental tension. We also encountered the so-called radiation phobia, talk about which many persons perceive to be an insult, as a charge of simulation, and as a contrast to "real" illnesses, which is absolutely incorrect. From the standpoint of the physician, radiation phobia can be defined as an increased psychoemotional reaction to a real or imagined danger of radiation. It is included in the group of a special type of neurosis, and consequently it requires diagnostics, prophylaxis, and treatment. Radiation phobia is a very serious problem. Initial functional and completely removable changes during further development can show up in the form of cardiovascular and gastrointestinal and other illnesses with organic damage to internal organs.

Radiation phobia has not only a medical, but a social side as well. There is a need for scientifically based and truthful information, and an increased radiation literacy of the entire population. After the Chernobyl accident, many incompetent articles appeared in the press that directly or indirectly concerned questions of the health of the population, and they often gave rise to various kinds of conjectures and rumors and a mood of panic. The authors of these writings are not aware that the injection of fear and tension is a source of direct damage to the health of the population.

We do not conceal our difficulties and shortcomings in the tremendous work of eliminating the medical consequences of the accident. There were deserters among the physicians who left the areas stricken by radiation; not everyone performs his professional duty conscientiously, and there are exaggerations in work that is being done; effective prophylactic work and clinical examinations of the population exposed to radiation have not been arranged properly everywhere; and many physicians and middle-level personnel display incompetence on questions of radiation medicine. We must understand that the elimination of the aftereffects of the accident will require dozens of years of intensive work, that we are proceeding consciously from the most unfavorable prognoses, and that we must be ready to cope with assigned tasks. To preserve the health of the population that was exposed to radiation, we need urgent help and support. Local organs and establishments do not have an adequate amount of modern dosage-measuring and diagnostic apparatuses, and special kits for immunological, endocrinological, hematological, and cytogenetic

research. It is not possible to purchase everything that is needed from capitalist firms; therefore, domestic industry must become quickly proficient in their output.

A number of social questions are not being resolved satisfactorily in strict control areas. Products being brought in often do not satisfy the needs of the body in the most important substances (animal protein and vitamins), which are especially important to children. There is a need for more coordinated work of the health services organs, and national education and a more active part in it by teachers and workers in children's preschool establishments. An expansion in the motor activity of children, the strengthening of their character, the provision of good nourishment, and the upbringing of a healthy child are of vitally important significance.

Inasmuch as the agricultural areas were exposed to the most radiation, there are a number of serious questions for local organs as well. Decontamination was conducted primarily in settlements and, to a lesser degree, on farmland. Therefore, additional protective measures are needed for field crop growers, machine operators, and cattlebreeders. Unfortunately, it is by far not everywhere that they have been implemented. There is an absolutely inadequate number of agricultural machines with airtight cabins, there are few special clothes, and their processing is performed in an absolutely unsatisfactory manner. There is a shortage of showers where each worker would have an opportunity to go through a sanitary (in fact, decontamination) process and have a change of clothes. The result of these defects is additional dosages and the carrying of radioactive matter into living accommodations.

In conclusion, not removing the primary responsibility from health services organs, we want to emphasize once more that the preservation of the health of the population in a zone affected by the Chernobyl accident is a nationwide state matter, and only through our joint efforts will we be able to eliminate the aftereffects of the tragedy we have endured.

Economic

Concept of Cost Accounting in Estonia Described
18001158 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 23 May 89 pp 2-3

[Unattributed article: "Summary Concept of Cost Accounting in the Estonian SSR"]

[Text] INTRODUCTION

This concept of cost accounting in the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] is predicated upon the precondition that without cardinal expansion of the sphere of action for money-exchange relationships and fundamental changes in relations between management at the central and republic levels it is impossible to deal with the crisis situation in our economy.

As a sovereign national republic the Estonian SSR, under republic cost-accounting conditions, will pursue an independent economic policy, combining its own national-state interests with the interests of the USSR as an all-union state. Under republic cost accounting, republic spending will be covered through its income, while the economic processes taking place on the territory of the Estonian SSR will be managed independently by the republic organs of state power and state management. Economic relations between a cost-accounting Estonian SSR and the central organs of the USSR and the other all-union republics and their cost-accounting regions, and also with foreign states, will be regulated on contractual bases. All enterprises, establishments and organizations located on the territory of the Estonian SSR, regardless of their subordination, shall be obliged to comply with Estonian SSR legislation.

Cost accounting in the Estonian SSR is a method for organizing economic life that is based on the integrity and relative isolation of the national economy of the Estonian SSR within the national economic complex of the USSR and stems from the essential nature of the USSR as a union of sovereign states that acts in accordance with the principles of a rule-of-law state. The economy of a cost-accounting Estonian SSR will function primarily on the principles of self-regulation, cost recovery [samookupayemost], self-financing, self-management and self-control. The Estonian SSR will participate both in the national economy of the USSR and in the world economy using the method that meets its natural, demographic and cultural requires and opportunities, under conditions of mutually advantageous commodity exchange.

The organs of state power and state management in the Estonian SSR will guide the development of the republic's economy under conditions of cost accounting in the Estonian SSR primarily through methods of indirect economic regulation (taxes, credits, prices, deductions to goal-oriented funds and so forth), proceeding here from the enforceable enactments of the Estonian SSR without direct intervention in the economic activity of enterprises. State organs will devise programs for the strategic development of the Estonian SSR economy and create base systems and funds to implement those programs. In order to develop economic activity state organs will provide production assistance in the acquisition of raw materials and technologies and in seeking out favorable opportunities for the marketing of output.

Economic relations in a cost-accounting Estonian SSR will be based on the following principles:

- diversity of forms of ownership, equality and state protection for all forms of ownership;
- freedom to engage in entrepreneurial activities and operate in market conditions;
- decentralization of territorial management;
- openness and partnership in relations with other regions of the USSR, and also in foreign economic links.

The socialist nature of economic building in a cost-accounting Estonian SSR will be expressed in the creation of state social guarantees and by setting limits so as to insure stability and humaneness in the living environment, and also social justice and protection of consumer rights.

1. AIMS

1.1 Changes resulting from cost accounting in the Estonian SSR will be aimed at the accelerated economic and sociocultural development of the Estonian SSR. The basis for this can be only multifaceted and intensive cooperation with the other all-union republics and with foreign countries.

A cost-accounting Estonian SSR will participate in the interrepublic and international division of labor on the basis of mutually advantageous commodity exchange and other forms of cooperation effected on a contractual basis between enterprises and organizes, and also with state economic management organs.

1.2 The aims of cost accounting in the Estonian SSR are determined by proceeding from two levels of social subjects, namely, individual and national.

1.3 At the individual level cost accounting in the Estonian SSR covers the entire population of Estonia as an aggregate of individuals regardless of national affiliation. For each inhabitant of the Estonian SSR the implementation of cost accounting in the Estonian SSR means the following:

- improvements in the quality of life, the creation of conditions for the preservation and strengthening of spiritual and physical health and more extensive opportunities to satisfy his own needs and strengthen the feeling of confidence;
- imparting value to creative self-manifestation of character and broader freedom of choice and opportunities for activity;
- enhanced prestige for entrepreneurship and honest labor;
- a more humane environment;
- an economy geared to the consumer;
- preserving the ability of the environment of Estonia to self-recovery and the rational use of its natural resources;
- growth in the national property.

1.4 At the national level cost accounting in Estonian SSR is based on the sovereignty of the Estonian SSR as a national republic and the need to preserve the indigenous nation on its historical territory as a subject that defines political, cultural and socioeconomic development. Persons of other nationalities in the Estonian SSR will be guaranteed conditions for the development and satisfaction of their sociocultural needs.

At the national level cost accounting in the Estonian SSR means the following:

- improvement in the demographic situation;
- guaranteeing the ability of the Estonian people to achieve social and cultural recovery;

—the development and better use of the national-spiritual potential;

—growing activity and independence of the Estonian SSR with respect to the other all-union republics of the Soviet Union and with respect to foreign countries.

2. PROPERTY

2.1 Property in the Estonian SSR will be independent and will represent a separate part of all the property of the USSR.

Property in the Estonian SSR will be seen in the following forms: the state property of the Estonian SSR, the property of cooperative and public organizations and public movements, and the property of individuals. Within the limits set by Estonian SSR legislation, in the Estonian SSR property belonging to the USSR and the other all-union republics, and to foreign states, and also their legal entities and citizens, will be permitted. Various mixed forms of property will be permitted in the Estonian SSR.

Fixed production capital will be publicly owned. Small-scale private ownership will be permitted within limits as established by law.

2.2 Ownership relations in the Estonian SSR will be regulated by the laws of the Estonian SSR and by contract.

All forms of property included in the economic system of the Estonian SSR will be protected by the state.

Proceeding from the equality of all forms of property in the Estonian SSR the state will create conditions enabling increases in assets in all forms of ownership, in the interests of society as a whole and of individuals.

2.3 Land, mineral resources, airspace above the territory of the republic, internal and territorial water, the continental shelf, forests and other natural resources will be the exclusive property of the state.

Right of ownership and use and rights to resources in the economic zone of the Baltic Sea adjacent to the territory of the Estonian SSR will, within the limits set by international law, belong to the Estonian SSR.

The property of the Estonian SSR will include the basic means of production in industry, construction, agriculture, transport and communications, state banks, the assets of trade, municipal and other enterprises, and also the state housing inventory and other assets needed to carry out the tasks of the Estonian SSR.

2.4 Property of the Estonian SSR may be in the form of municipal ownership. Municipal ownership will include assets possessed or used or at the disposal of local organs of state power.

The legal conditions for property held in municipal ownership will be determined by the local organs of state power in accordance with the laws of the Estonian SSR. The transfer of objects as municipal property and their withdrawal or reallocation by higher organs of state power and management without the agreement of the local organ of state power are prohibited.

2.5 State enterprises based on the property of the Estonian SSR, including as municipal ownership, have possession use and disposal of the assets belonging to them, either on the basis of a right of operational control (state enterprises) or on the basis of a delegated right of possession (people's enterprises). People's enterprises will have the right of ownership over assets belonging to them.

Delegation (transfer) of the right of ownership in the Estonian SSR to people's enterprises will be done in accordance with procedure as provided for by the legislation of the Estonian SSR.

2.6 Cooperative organizations and their associations, public organizations and public movements will have possession, use and disposal of assets belonging to them under right of ownership in accordance with their own registered charters and the laws of the Estonian SSR.

2.7 Ownership by private individuals in the Estonian SSR will be in the form of personal property or small-scale private ownership.

Personal property is the basis for satisfying personal needs. Small-scale private ownership makes up the economic basis of commodity production engaged in by private individuals.

The assets of private individuals can be transferred and inherited.

2.8 Land will be transferred to peasants in the Estonian SSR for use in perpetuity. The right to land use will be inherited in accordance with procedure as established by the legislation of the Estonian SSR.

2.9 Conditions of possession, use and disposal of assets of state, cooperative and public organization, public movements and citizens of the Estonian SSR outside the Estonian SSR will be determined by the laws of the state on whose territory such assets are located, and by appropriate contracts.

The Estonian SSR will help to protect property.

2.10 Within the limits established by the legislation of the Estonian SSR, private property may exist within the Estonian SSR that belongs completely or in part to the citizens of foreign countries or associations of such foreign citizens.

3. THE TAX SYSTEM

3.1 The purpose of taxes in the Estonian SSR will be to provide republic and local budgets with monetary incomes and to direct society in the necessary direction in terms of the economic activity of enterprises and people.

Taxes will be imposed on the basis of laws of the Estonian SSR adopted following national debate.

Tax rates will be set by republic and local organs of power.

3.2 Basic taxes applied in the Estonian SSR will be as follows:

—taxes from the population: an income tax, a land tax, a property tax, a tax on means of transport and a tax on the use of natural resources;

—taxes from enterprises: income tax, payments from turnover or a consumer tax, a tax on profits, payments for resources (land, natural resources, a payroll tax, fixed capital), social security payments, payments for environmental pollution;

indirect taxes: excise duty, turnover tax, an entertainment tax, customs duty.

3.3 In addition to payments to the budget, payments may also be levied for nonbudget special-purpose funds: a development fund, a farmers' fund, an employment fund, a nature fund; a family fund, a migration fund, a highway fund, and so forth, whose creation may be necessary.

3.4 Republic taxes will be the same throughout the republic, local taxes will be the same only on the territory of the corresponding local soviet. Different soviets may set different local taxes.

3.5 Establishment of a tax system assumes that people and enterprises will file annual tax declarations and submit them to the tax service set up. Tax rates will be the same for all enterprises regardless of form of ownership, subordination, or the organizational form of the enterprise.

4. BUDGETS

4.1 The budget system for cost accounting in the Estonian SSR will be independent. It will consist of a republic budget and independent budgets for local organs of self-management. On the territory of the Estonian SSR all payments will be made to the republic and local budgets.

4.2 Procedure for forming and using the republic budget will be defined by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, which will set itself the following aims:

—reducing the role of the budget in redistribution of national income;

—reducing the role of the social inequality preserved in indirect taxes by means of enhancing the role of direct taxes;

—abandoning budget subsidies for enterprises.

4.3 Payments into the republic and local budgets will be insured by the provision of a tax law and by other payments.

4.4 The republic and local budgets are independent one from the other.

Both the incomes and expenditures of the republic and local budgets will be established by the appropriate soviets independently following open discussion of draft budgets.

4.5 Local budgets will concentrate assets for the funding of economic, social, cultural and other programs of local importance, and also funding for the corresponding establishments and measures, and on maintaining local organs of power and management, the formation of reserve funds, and subsidizing lower budgets, and on the formation of local special funds and other spending as provided for by law.

4.6 If necessary local self-managing bodies may cooperate to pursue a unified economic and social policy on a larger territory, and to carry out joint projects in all fields falling within their competence, as for example, the construction and operation of hospitals, polyclinics, health and sports facilities, housing and rest homes for the elderly, general education schools and vocational-and-technical schools, regional engineering mains services and roads.

4.7 The republic budget will concentrate assets on funding for economic, social, cultural and other programs of republic importance, and also on funding for the corresponding establishments and measures, on maintaining the republic organs of power, the formation of reserves, making payments to the USSR state budget, subsidizing local budgets, forming special republic funds and other spending as provided for by law.

4.8 The budget at each level (for both incomes and expenditures) will be fully public in three stages, namely, in the form of a draft, in the form adopted, and in the form of the accountability report on fulfillment.

5. BANKING AFFAIRS AND MONEY CIRCULATION

5.1 The banking system will consist of the Central Bank of the Estonian SSR (the Bank of Estonia) and commercial banks. In addition various kinds of specialized loan institutions may be set up.

The Bank of Estonia will be an independent organization whose charter will be approved by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

5.2 The organization of banking affairs and money circulation will fall within the competence of cost accounting in the Estonian SSR, including the introduction of its own money and determining procedure for exchange into other currencies and the exchange rate, including against the ruble as the common currency of the USSR.

In the Estonian SSR domestic market only money of the Estonian SSR will be in circulation.

One task in developing the economy of the Estonian SSR will be making the currency of the Estonian SSR freely convertible into the currencies of foreign countries.

5.3 Each element of the banking system will be economically independent and will be guided by legislation and also by the standards established by the Bank of Estonia.

5.4 Commercial banks will also engage in the buying and selling of securities. Issue of securities will be organized by the Bank of Estonia. An exchange will be set up for operations concerning the buying and selling of securities.

5.5 If necessary payment cards will be introduced that will guarantee for the public better and more stable provision of consumer goods.

5.6 The money assets formed on the territory of the Estonian SSR will form the credit resources of the republic. They are the following:

- the assets of enterprises and other legal entities, and of citizens, held in bank accounts;
- assets of the republic and local budgets;
- personal savings;
- the assets of state (or cooperative) insurance;
- the assets of banks;
- undistributed profit (owners' assets).

Through their resources banks will participate in the forming of the republic budget on the principles of charges and repayability.

Resources not being used in the republic national economy may by mutual agreement for payment be transferred to the USSR State Bank or the central or commercial banks of other all-union republics.

5.7 Under the conditions of the significant extension of the sphere of cost recovery [samookupayemost] for enterprises, the government of the Estonian SSR bears responsibility for the balance between incomes and expenditures for the population and for strengthening money circulation.

6. PRICING

6.1 The government of the Estonian SSR will pursue a pricing policy that insures the acceleration of social and economic development in the republic and that promotes commodity exchange with other all-union republics and with foreign countries, and protects the interests of the public.

6.2 To this end conditions will be created in which various kinds of prices will be in force at the same time, as follows:

- contract (market) prices that are formed on the basis of agreement between seller and buyer according to supply and demand; in order to avoid distortions when prices are being set and lowering living standards, a special determination will be made of goods for which the permission of the department regulating pricing will be required in order to change those prices;
- state stable (fixed) maximum prices, which will be set for the most important goods and services in terms of socioeconomic relations. The price list for these goods and services will be confirmed by the government of the Estonian SSR.

6.3 A gradual transition will be made to reach a situation in which price levels are reached through trade.

6.4 In order to avoid monopoly prices an antimonopoly law will be applied and competition will be encouraged between enterprises, aimed at balancing prices.

6.5 State contract prices will be applied for products bought and sold on the basis of trade agreements (for raw materials, materials, equipment, consumer goods) concluded between government organs in the republic.

6.6 For barter deals by enterprises outside the republic contract prices will be applied.

6.7 In order to observe changes in prices and rates for services, a system of indicators will be introduced that reflects the dynamics of prices and changes in the price index, and any changes in those indicators will regularly be made public. Procedures will be established that will make it possible to compensate people for higher prices.

7. LABOR AND WAGES

7.1 The main thing in manpower policy is the internal republic physical and intellectual labor potential.

Labor may be hired for work of a temporary nature in accordance with the law on migration of the labor force outside the republic, on a contractual basis.

7.2 The republic's manpower potential will be developed on the basis of social and cultural policy, giving due consideration to the personal inclinations of the individual and social usefulness.

7.3 Economic, social and cultural policy will be supported by constant improvement of skills, and if required, also by retraining for the manpower available in order to provide a physically and intellectually prepared labor force ready to work and to reveal its creative potential.

Using all the means of economic regulation enterprises will be focused on having an interest in freeing up surplus manpower and using technologies associated with the growing level of mechanization and automation and increase in productivity from each worker. These means will include first and foremost the tax system and republic investment and innovation policies.

7.4 Use of manpower freed up as the result of reorganization and technical improvements in production will be regulated by state social insurance and the system of retraining.

7.5 The measure of payment for any kind of labor will be determined as a function of the labor contribution made by each person and by the people working with him, the complexity of labor, the requirements for quality, and the relationship between manpower supply and demand, and also the profitability of an enterprise's economic activity.

7.6 By agreement with the trade union, the administration at each enterprise will establish norms and rates for wages for all workers, and working and rest conditions. Legislation of the Estonian SSR will specify only minimum wages, maximum duration of work time and minimum duration of leave, and also other guarantees and limitations concerning labor.

All specific questions of wages (and rates and conditions) will be resolved at the level of the enterprise using the hired labor.

Procedure for wages in state institutions will be established by the republic government.

7.7 A republic wage system will be formed on unified principles for workers in budget institutions that will insure, in particular, adequate wages for workers in education, culture, public health, physical culture and sport and social security, as a function of social importance and the quality of their labor.

7.8 Formation of people's incomes will be regulated by the state by the following means:

—making tax exempt personal incomes that are below the established minimum;

—using progressive income tax on the incomes of individuals;

—using a progressive tax on enterprise incomes.

7.9 The republic government will conduct studies of inflation phenomena and changes in the structure of consumer demand, building on this basis a cost-of-living index and making it public.

Changes will be made to social security and social insurance payments, grants and so forth on the basis of changes in the cost-of-living index.

7.10 The rights of workers in all matter connected with wages should be protected first and foremost by the trade unions and also by other organizations set up on a public basis.

8. GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF ENTREPRENEURIAL ACTIVITY

8.1 The organization of economic life in the Estonian SSR will be based on the enforceable enactments in force in the Estonian SSR.

8.2 Enterprises in the Estonian SSR can operate within the framework of forms of ownership permitted in the republic and engage in any sphere of activity not prohibited by law, and have various organizational forms.

8.3 Enterprises have the right, on a voluntary basis and using their own assets, to combine themselves into associations, trusts, concerns, societies and so forth if this is not at variance with the legislation of the Estonian SSR.

8.4 Enterprises will be launched by the founder registering with the local self-management office on the basis of permission granted under established procedure for the activity, license or patent, and entering into a contract with the appropriate self-management body, in which, giving due consideration to the needs of the public, limitations are indicated (environmental protection, policy in the field of manpower). Within the limits of the permission for activity (licenses, patents), enterprises may produce and market any articles and provide any service without preliminary agreement if this is not at variance with the laws of the Estonian SSR.

Procedure for granting permission for activity (licenses, patents) and procedure for withdrawal of such permission will be established by the republic government through its enforceable enactments.

8.5 In order to safeguard the interests of the Estonian SSR, enterprises will be affected by the action of the system of state taxes, norms for amortization deductions, the interest rates of the Bank of Estonia, subsidies, investment privileges, budget funding, republic orders, production quotas, and imports and exports, and also limits on manpower and the establishment of standards for the production or sale of certain articles, the granting of rights for entrepreneurial activity, and so forth.

8.6 As it develops money-exchange relationships and promotes competition between goods and producers, integration of the domestic and foreign markets, and freely convertible currency, the government of the Estonian SSR will help to saturate the republic consumer market with goods and services.

8.7 Within the republic, in order to develop competition, an antimonopoly law will be passed. Questions of bankruptcy of enterprises will also be regulated by law.

8.8 Local organs of self-management or other organs as provided for by law will be able to close down enterprises if they are in violation of the requirements of enforceable enactments in force in the Estonian SSR (environmental pollution above permissible levels, failure to observe sanitation standards, violation of patents obtained from abroad, marketing output harmful to people's health, engaging in reprehensible activity, propagandizing violence and so forth), or fail to comply with the terms of contracts entered into with local organs of self-management.

8.9 Statistical and accountability reports will be reorganized, proceeding from the requirements of cost accounting in the Estonian SSR and the statistical requirements of the USSR and international statistics. Statistical data on all spheres in the development of society should be available to all inhabitants of the Estonian SSR.

9. REGIONAL POLICY

9.1 The regional policy of the Estonian SSR should insure balanced development of all territory in the republic while at the same time creating all conditions for the realization of prerequisites for development in the region.

9.2 Regional policy will be pursued proceeding from the interests of the republic overall through measures of an incentive, compensating and limiting character. Measures of incentive and compensation will be given priority.

9.3 The most important regional-political measures are the following: creating an advantageous regime for entrepreneurial activity in specified zones; creating for the population an advantageous regime of taxes; management of state investments; loans, subsidies and financial aid for development of the social sphere; establishing limitations and standards and differentiating among them, establishing conservation regimes and so forth. Measures may be one-of-a-kind, short-term or long-term. Regional-political principles will serve as the basis for territorial planning. Regional policy will also be pursued in the form of regional programs for development of a comprehensive nature.

9.4 The regional policy of the Estonian SSR will be aimed at making maximum use of the resource potential in various zones through structural changes; compensation for a low resource potential in regions; dealing with disproportions between regions resulting from the economic and social policy pursued hitherto, reducing disproportions in development resulting from conjunctural shifts stemming from a market economy; guaranteeing a regime of conservation in specified zones.

9.5 The following will be priorities in regional policy in the years immediately ahead:

- insuring an optimal relation between large, medium-size and small enterprises; territorial dispersal of industry, development in peripheral territories (small towns, urban settlements and rural settlements) of small-scale production based on intensive technologies and making use of local resources; transforming territorially dispersed production subdivisions, with their agreement, into independent enterprises;
- intensifying agriculture; creating favorable conditions for small farms (farmsteads, societies); developing small farms and full-time farming;
- forming regional innovation centers on the base of VUZ's [higher educational institutions] and scientific institutions (initially in the cities of Tallinn and Tartu), enhancing the scientific and cultural potential of other administrative centers by dispersing the scientific and cultural-enlightenment establishments;
- promoting development of the tourist and recreation industries in zones with appropriate potential, developing settlements at resorts and halting production activity that presents an environmental danger.

9.6 From the standpoint of the settlement system the following will be insured:

- preservation of the population in rural localities over as large an area as possible. State funding will be allocated for this purpose primarily for the development of those areas where activity has still not entirely ceased;

- the development of small towns, urban and rural settlements and villages;

- the development of regional centers alongside rayon centers; halting mechanical growth in large cities;

- comprehensive development of the less developed regions of the republic;

- stabilization of the proportion of the indigenous population throughout the territory of the republic and its growth in some cities and in the northeast part of Estonia.

10. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL POLICY

10.1 The social policy pursued in the Estonian SSR will insure that due consideration is given to the interests of all social groups and strata existing in society, and elimination of the social disproportions that have been shaped in the republic, and will cover the achievement of a scientifically based living standard, preservation of people's health and their social well-being, growth in spiritual and physical potential, and security during illness, old age and disability. Within this framework it is essential to offer economic guarantees for the preservation and development of the indigenous nation, prevent social deviations, crises and conflict situations, insure a balance in social relations, and provide the population with housing and shape an ecologically favorable living environment.

Cultural policy will also cover science and insure the balanced development of national, natural, and technical sciences, closely linked to world science in the interests of the people.

10.2 Cultural policy is closely associated with social policy and should be aimed at increasing Estonia's spiritual potential and rearing the educated, initiative-filled, creative, and moral personality, in particular to expand the conditions for the development of culture, and also the cultures of national minorities living in Estonia. Social and cultural policy will create the prerequisites for the successful economic development of the Estonian SSR by means of enhancing love of labor and people's activeness and initiative, and by improving work standards and achieving better results from using the spiritual potential of the people, and it will be based on freedom of choice and opportunities for choice in activity, giving due consideration to social self-regulation. Its aim is to create the broadest opportunities for the development of the entire population of the Estonian SSR.

10.3 The activity of the republic organizations will essentially be devising state policy and drawing up and funding the goal-oriented programs needed to pursue that policy. Local organizations, public foundations and

the public will also be recruited to implement these programs. Republic organizations will be directly involved in organizing the use only of funds allocated from the republic budget.

10.4 The organization of social and cultural life at the local level will be based on regional development programs drawn up with the help of the local organs of power and the social and cultural organizations, and also local foundations and public movements, on the basis of free choice and with the involvement of the public, which cannot be directed from above.

10.5 Funding for social and cultural policies will be provided from republic and local budgets and also from public foundations and through the assets of enterprises and the public.

Donations from enterprises for development of the sociocultural spheres will be assessed for tax on an advantageous basis or totally tax exempt.

10.6 In the allocation of spending between the republic and local levels it is necessary to insure that funds from the republic budget at the proper level correspond to the social norms for pursuing social and cultural policies in cities and rayons, and moreover, in each region funds will be added from the local budget and separately from enterprises and the public.

10.7 The main fields of social and cultural policies will be the regulation of reproduction of the population of the Estonian SSR and its social makeup (including in matters of family and policy in the field of employment and migration), maintaining the health of the population of the Estonian SSR and providing social security for it (policy in the field of public health, social insurance and nature conservation, and housing policy); development of the spiritual and physical potential of the population of the Estonian SSR and insuring the continuity of culture (policy in the field of education, science, culture, and physical culture and sports). Social and cultural policies are also associated with creation of the information infrastructure needed to develop the economy and the culture (information policy).

11. REGULATION OF MIGRATION

11.1 In order to regulate migration processes with other regions of the Soviet Union, the following economic, legal, sociopolitical and cultural principles and principles relating to other spheres, and the measures based on them, will be primarily used:

—the rejection of extensive development of the economy, deeming that one of the most important components here is bringing the economic structure (for example, the level of employment, entrepreneurial activity, forms of ownership and so forth) into line with the needs of intensive development;

—the introduction in the Estonian SSR of republic citizenship and exercise of the constitutional rights and obligations of citizens of the Estonian SSR stemming from this;

—adoption of a law on migration and the creation in line with that law of a service whose main function should be to provide support for a migration policy that is differentiated on a personal basis, including clarification of work skills, family ties and prerequisites for adaptation of immigrants;

—establishment by a territorial organ of differential wages for the labor force, together with other resource taxation for all enterprises, regarding this primarily as an instrument of regional policy and not as a means for controlling migration;

—deployment of military units and their personnel, together with the families of servicemen, on the territory of the Estonian SSR will be regulated by special agreements.

11.2 Simplifications will be made in the external dealings of citizens of the Estonian SSR, including procedure for going abroad, and also the entry of foreigners into the Estonian SSR.

11.3 It will be necessary to compile a register of the entire population, and on this basis periodically inform the public about all kinds of migration, both in absolute indicators and in terms of the reasons for and purposes of migration, the nationalities involved in migration and so forth.

12. USE OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND NATURE CONSERVATION

12.1 The Estonian SSR will guarantee for citizens their basic constitutional right to a healthy living environment (one that insures health and preservation of the restorative capacities of natural systems).

12.2 Activity directed toward this should take two main requirements into account:

—the restoration and preservation of the regenerative capacity of the environment;

—the propitious nature of the environment for man.

In this way the prerequisites will be created to insure a safe environment that favors human activity, preserve the variety and beauty of nature and the historical and cultural monuments of the Estonian SSR and the diversity and beauty of the landscape, and conserve natural resources for future generations.

12.3 The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet will lay down a procedure for the use of all natural resources in the Estonian SSR, including territory (environmental space) as one of the main resources, and procedure for the organization of nature conservation on the territory of the Estonian SSR.

12.4 The Estonian SSR will lay emphasis on domestic all-union and international agreements and the recommendations of international nature conservation organizations.

12.5 Compensation for damage caused by interpublic and interstate pollution will be determined according to established procedure.

12.6 Priority of territorial management over sector management will be established in nature conservation and in the use of natural resources, giving due consideration to the special features of each region and its status and its ability to withstand environmental stress. The permissible limit for the use of natural resources, production quotas and payments for pollution, will be standardized and established by region.

12.7 The establishment of general goals and strategies for the use of natural resources and nature conservation, and a system that provides incentive to realize this at the level of overall management of the republic's economy, the management of state sanctuary zones and projects, and the direction and coordination of the activity of regional nature conservation organs will remain within the competence of the central nature conservation organs of the Estonian SSR.

12.8 Management of territory and realization at the local level of the general strategy for the use of natural resources and nature conservation, the imposition of local taxes for the use of natural resources and compensation payments (for damage done), the establishment of maximum permissible norms for emissions and pollution, and establishment of limitations in the field of the use of natural resources based on local conditions, will fall within the competence of local management. Local organs of self-management will have the right to draw up and implement local environmental protection policy and to use their right of veto with respect to decisions adopted by departments by suspending those decisions.

12.9 The use and protection of natural resources in the Estonian SSR, the conducting of geological and other studies needed for this, and the comprehensiveness and completeness of the use of resources should be determined on the basis of a consensus of local organs of self-management and the republic government.

12.10 Matching the interests of the population of the Estonian SSR and its territorial subdivisions with the interests of enterprises will be done on the basis of an economic mechanism that will provide material incentive for the rational use of natural resources and reduction of environmental pollution and will make the results of the work of cost-accounting enterprises directly dependent on this.

12.11 Success in ecological policy will be determined by the level of people's ecological knowledge and on their not being alienated from their living environment. This will be achieved by means of the economic mechanism and also through policy in the field of education, and information policy. Rapid-response regional services

will be set up for the purpose of environmental protection. Inhabitants of the Estonian SSR will be informed regularly about the status of the environment.

13. TECHNICAL POLICY

13.1 The purpose of technical policy is to create conditions for development of the scientific and technical, intellectual, and production potential of the Estonian SSR, have legal safeguards for its results and products, both inside the country and abroad, and effect its optimal use within the framework of the all-union and international division of labor.

13.2 High technology production is the direction of strategy in developing the national economy of the Estonian SSR.

13.3 One of the main tasks of technical policy is a purposeful change in the structure of industrial production and its reorientation, and also retooling on the basis of up-to-date, highly efficient technologies.

13.4 High-technology small-scale entrepreneurial activity will be developed. Science parks and technology centers will be created in order to link together science, the VUZ's and production.

13.5 An investment fund formed from the republic budget, all-union funds, foreign capital and other sources will be set up to manage technical policy.

13.6 High-technology development will be realized under conditions of openness in international communications. It will be necessary to set up direct channels of international communication and create in the Estonian SSR an up-to-date data transmission system and achieve for Tallinn city the status of an international postal center. The airports and sea ports of the Estonian SSR should be opened up for regular international air and sea communication.

13.7 Skill improvement and retraining for leaders, specialists and qualified workers, including abroad, will be developed as an essential condition of technological development. One source for this will be a republic special-purpose fund.

13.8 With the help of special-purpose funding, subsidies and tax concessions a regime will be created that favors the dispersal of high-technology production on republic territory, thus influencing the rational use of manpower and solving social problems.

13.9 An up-to-date material-technical base will be created for the scientific institutions and VUZ's. Priority directions in the development of science will be defined, and this will be taken into consideration when funding is allocated.

13.10 Quality requirements will be established for output at the level of appropriate standards of the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) or the standards of contract partners. Improvements will be made in the system of quality control and product certification and conditions will be created for issuing patents for products and technologies, both in the USSR and abroad.

13.11 In order to insure optimal solutions when introducing new technologies they will be comprehensively analyzed and subjected to expert examination giving due consideration to technological, ecological, energy, socio-economic, medical, toxicological, and other essential factors. In this connection, in training for scientific and technical personnel, along with the acquisition of special knowledge the comprehensive approach to problems will be deepened.

14. INVESTMENT POLICY

14.1 The main directions of investment policy in construction in the Estonian SSR will be aimed at creating a favorable environment for people, and also establishing the importance of architecture as an art form, will be the following:

- the creation of a humane and large-scale technical environment that meets present-day requirements on the basis of realization of socioeconomic programs, preservation of the architectural heritage and restoration of that heritage in order to satisfy the esthetic needs of the people;

- the creation of fixed capital, production capacities and a sociocultural base that are structurally optimal primarily for insuring effective and high-technology investment and technical policies and the production of consumer goods with the highest consumer qualities;

- the creation of the kind of material base that will be a guarantee for the implementation of investment policy in construction and that will meet present-day requirements so that through its rhythmic operation it may satisfy the needs of the national economy and the population for high quality with regard to construction materials and the product of the construction industry.

14.2 All construction investment activity on all republic territory will also fall within the competence of the Estonian SSR and be agreed with it, and the republic will have the exclusive right to approve the relevant normative documents and conduct expert oversight.

14.3 In order to balance what is planned in the republic with respect to construction investments and the realistic possibility of assimilating such investments, differentiated investment payments will be made as necessary.

15. RELATIONS WITH THE OTHER ALL-UNION REPUBLICS

15.1 Relations between the republic and the other all-union republics will be regulated in the following fields:

- legal and political relations with the organs of state power and state management of the USSR and the other all-union republics;

- economic relations (property relations, budget relations, relations in the sphere of money circulation, commodity exchange, communications and transport and so forth);

- social and humanitarian relations.

15.2 The republic's relations with the other all-union republics will be regulated by agreements [dogovory] providing for equality, mutual advantage and interestness. Enterprises and organizations of the Estonian SSR will develop partnership cooperation with corresponding enterprises and organizations in other all-union republics. The economic activity of enterprises and organizations of other all-union republics located on the territory of the Estonian SSR will be permitted on the basis of appropriate agreements [soglasheniya].

The needs of the national economy of the Estonian SSR for material-technical resources and consumer goods, and also relations of commodity exchange with other all-union republics will be regulated as follows:

- opportunities will be determined for satisfying the needs of the republic national economy;

- the possibility will be determined of satisfying other needs by establishing direct horizontal links with other all-union republics or their enterprises;

- in order to satisfy other still unsatisfied needs, use will be made of centralized supply channels in the USSR and the possibility of foreign trade.

15.3 Questions of cooperation between all sectors of the national economy (communications, transport, consumer services and so forth) and questions associated with barter will be formulated by special protocols or interrepublic agreements [dogovory], and here the following will hold:

- communication on the territory of the Estonian SSR and between the Estonian SSR and other regions of the USSR will be handled by the government of the Estonian SSR independently. The republic will issue its own marks of payment for postal services;

- the movement of freight will be carried out by republic cost-accounting road, railroad and air transport enterprises and maritime transport enterprises;

- the activity of fisheries enterprises from other republics in the inland territorial waters and in the economic zone of the Estonian SSR will be permitted on the basis of an appropriate agreement (fishing licenses).

15.4 The organization of commodity exchange with other all-union republics will assume the sovereignty of the republic in devising a commodity exchange policy that is suitable for it. Practice in commodity exchange will be regulated in the following directions:

- reappraising and creating a structure of imports and exports of material-technical means and consumer goods that is economically expedient for the republic;

- using in commodity exchange with other all-union republics the kind of price levels that would insure a mutual economic interest;

- promoting a system of direct agreements between the Estonian SSR and the various economic regions of the USSR;

- marketing in the USSR market and pursuing commodity exchange relations with the USSR on the basis of special marketing strategies.

15.5 During the transition period Estonian SSR commodity exchange of part of centrally allocated output will occur on the basis of agreements that will be concluded between management organs of the USSR and the other all-union republics and the Estonian SSR.

15.6 A system will be shaped in the republic to study the market for analysis of market conditions and opportunities for selling in regions of the USSR in accordance with orders from enterprises and the interests of the national economy of the Estonian SSR; simultaneously, a network of economic representatives of the Estonian SSR will be set up in regions of the USSR, whose tasks will include cooperation with republic enterprises. Opportunities for concluding economic agreements with other regions of the USSR and with enterprises and regions will be clarified.

Management organs in the Estonian SSR and enterprises located on republic territory will have the right to enter into additional bilateral agreements on commodity exchange with management organs in other republics or with enterprises located on their territory. In order to develop commodity exchange based on direct links a competitive system will be created for wholesale trade, which with the help of intermediary organizations will buy and sell goods in the Estonian SSR and the USSR. Here, influence will be exerted to set up joint and mixed enterprises with the participation of wholesale trade organizations in other all-union republics, and with foreign partners.

15.7 A wholesale trade center will be set up to handle enterprise fixed capital, equipment, materials and sub-assemblies, and also consumer goods, in which goods in short supply will also be sold by auction.

15.8 Increasing the Estonian SSR's contribution to the national economy of the USSR assumes an expansion of economic ties and new forms of cooperation, as follows:

- setting up joint enterprises with other all-union republics to process raw materials and materials imported into the Estonian SSR for the purpose of bringing output quality up to the international level;

- making investments in other all-union republics;

- leasing, managing and directing by republic enterprises and organizations of individual enterprises, land, forest and so forth, and kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms];

- creating specialized organizations that would seek out contacts with foreign companies and would represent them in other all-union republics and help to set up mixed enterprises;

- training and improving the skills of specialists from other all-union republics.

16. FOREIGN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

16.1 In all its foreign economic activity the Estonian SSR will proceed from the principle of economic sovereignty.

The Estonian SSR will have its own foreign exchange balance, which will be part of its balance of payments.

Enterprises and organizations located on the territory of the Estonian SSR will carry on their foreign economic ties in accordance with the legislation and other enforceable enactments of the Estonian SSR.

16.2 The government of the Estonian SSR will have the right to enter into economic agreements with the governments of other states and with international economic organizations (CEMA and so forth).

16.3 All enterprises and organizations of the Estonian SSR will have the right to carry on export and import deals directly. Exports and imports will be regulated by appropriate quotas and licenses.

16.4 Enterprises and organizations of the Estonian SSR will be guaranteed the right to join international associations, societies and organizations and the opportunity to cooperate freely with partner companies in other countries in all legally accepted spheres of activity.

16.5 Enterprises and organizations and individuals of the Estonian SSR will have the right to hold foreign currency and to use it in accordance with procedure as regulated by law.

16.6 As a rule, with respect to enterprises and organizations the principle of currency cost recovery [valyutnyy samookupayemost] will apply. In the interests of the republic as a socioeconomic entity, if necessary, an obligation may be imposed on enterprises, as a change to existing procedure, to sell foreign currency to the state, and the practice will be to buy at the market exchange rate. Foreign exchange obtained in this manner will be used to solve tasks of the republic as a socioeconomic entity, including to develop the social sphere.

16.7 Foreign exchange accounts will be handled under conditions specified in agreements.

16.8 In order to accelerate the consolidation of the foreign economic potential of the Estonian SSR, a most-favored regime will be established. Special influence will be exerted with respect to the import of highly efficient technology and corresponding scientific and technical

information, investments of foreign capital in the economy of the Estonian SSR, and the organization of training for experts and managers engaged in foreign economic activity, and also the development of foreign tourism.

16.9 In order to develop the scientific and technical, intellectual, and production potential of the Estonian SSR and develop foreign economic activity there will be guarantees of legal protection for industrial property (inventions, industrial models, trademarks and so forth) and the achievements of science in the Estonian SSR both within the country and in other countries. Legal protection will proceed from laws in force in the Estonian SSR, and international conventions and treaties in accordance with the specific nature of the object of ownership being protected.

17. PLANNING

17.1 Under conditions of cost accounting in the Estonian SSR there will be significant changes in the function of planning, and the sphere of centralized planning will be reduced. Instead of the directive system and the order system practiced hitherto, contractual (partnership) relations will dominate between economic subjects. Centralized directive planning for the activity of enterprises will cease.

17.2 The following will be the main tasks of state planning:

—shaping general republic long-term economic policy and work on key goals and tasks that are integral parts of economic policy for the corresponding period of time (rates of economic development, basic proportions, main structural shifts, the basis of insuring economic balance and so forth);

—defining a system of means to reach set goals. The system of means will consist of so-called direct state decisions (for example, the allocation of funding to implement state development programs, state reserves, international agreements on economic cooperation and so forth) and decisions on indirect levers for economic regulation in a planning period (taxes, credits, amortization, and prices). The latter will be the main channels through which the influence of state planning will be exercised under conditions of cost accounting in the Estonian SSR.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet will decide on the national economic plan and will confirm the main directions of socioeconomic development for the republic for the five-year period, and will also determine the funding to be allocated from the republic budget to fulfill these tasks. With respect to the enterprise the Estonian SSR state plan will not be directive in nature.

17.3 One of the means of state economic policy will be to draw up and implement a limited number of state goal-oriented programs. Programs can be funded by the state and the state may support the activity of enterprises in a direction intended by programs by means of indirect

economic regulation (for example, tax concessions), and if required may act in the role of general coordinator and organizer. Programs will be realized on the basis of agreements concluded.

17.4 Enterprises will draw up plans only in their own interests.

Giving due consideration to their needs and uniqueness, enterprises themselves will determine the expediency of the planning horizon, the start of a plan period, the organizational procedure for planning, methods, and so forth.

17.5 The acceptance of state and local orders by enterprises (with the exception of state enterprises) will be done on a voluntary basis and they will be implemented through contract. The issue of state orders to state enterprises will be done under procedure as laid down by Estonian SSR legislation, for which the state will insure the necessary conditions for the fulfillment of state orders.

17.6 The issue by planning organs of plan targets, binding state orders and so forth to enterprises of various kinds will be possible only in cases as provided for by legislation.

17.7 The exchange of information between the central planning organ and enterprises during compilation of the national economic plan cannot be interpreted as an obligation to present draft plans to central organs.

17.8 The planning and funding for construction of housing and sociocultural projects will be done directly by local organs of self-management. Depending on the situation, provision may be made for subsidies or credits from the republic government.

Construction of projects of republic importance (scientific establishments, VUZ's, cultural establishments, specialized treatment facilities and so forth) will be financed by the republic government.

17.9 Programs for the development of enterprises and organizations remaining under all-union subordination, and also mixed enterprises and enterprises belonging to foreign countries and the citizens of foreign countries, will with respect to that part that includes construction, infrastructure, and use of natural resources and manpower, be subject to the agreement of the government of the Estonian SSR and the organs of local self-management, proceeding from the interests of comprehensive development of the economy and social sphere of the Estonian SSR.

18. THE SYSTEM OF TERRITORIAL MANAGEMENT

18.1 The system of management in the Estonian SSR will realize the principles of a rule-of-law state at all levels, insuring the development of each region first and foremost in the interests of and at the initiative of the local population.

18.2 The earlier, predominantly centralized system of management "from above to below" will be replaced with self-management. A system of territorial or administrative management in the Estonian SSR will be formed at the primary level by uyezds cities, settlements and volosts and this level will be formed on the basis of cities of rayon subordination, urban settlements and rural soviets. The second level will be made up of republic cities and uyezds (the present rayons).

18.3 The functions of the local organs of self-management will be as follows: to manage a territory in the interests of its population within the framework of republic legislation and provide for the vital interests of local inhabitants and a sound living environment, and also to protect the civil rights of the population and insure public order.

18.4 The functions of local state organs of self-management at the second level will include the following: compliance with republic legislation and monitoring compliance on their own territories, the management of projects belonging to the social infrastructure of republic importance and insuring that they function, the fulfillment of functions as delegated to them by local soviets at the first level, and representing the interests of local soviets at the first level in the republic.

18.5 Decisions made within the limits of the competence of the local soviet will be binding on existing enterprises, establishments and organizations, officials, and individuals located on the corresponding territory. Economic activity that begins with the use of resources will occur in an administrative territory on the basis of contracts or by agreement between the appropriate local soviets and entrepreneurs under established procedure. Within the limits of their competence local soviets will have the right to halt the implementation of decisions made by higher organs of management and departments on their own territory in the event that such decisions are in violation of the competence of the local soviets. Matters in dispute will be resolved by procedure as laid down by law.

18.6 The numerical makeup of local soviets, and also the structure and makeup of their organs, will be established by the appropriate soviet within the framework of republic law.

18.7 Local soviets will organize social and economic life on their own administrative territory by proceeding from the principles of cost accounting.

A local soviet will have an independent budget that is not part of any higher budget. Procedure for forming and using the local budget will be regulated by republic laws on the budget and taxes.

18.8 Local soviets will have the right to set within the limits of the overall republic budget a tax policy for local taxes and the size of such taxes, and make use of loans and other additional sources of resources (local lotteries, donations from the public and from institutions and so forth).

18.9 Territorial planning will be done at the initiative of local soviets and it will be advisory in nature to insure the comprehensive socioeconomic develop of a territory.

18.10 The transition from the existing system of administrative-territorial management to the system of self-management will take place during the course of the administrative reform on the basis of legislative enactments in the appropriate transition stage.

18.11 The socioeconomic and legal functions of local organs of state self-management during the first stage of the transition will be carried out by organs of self-management at the second level, transferring those functions to the first level as the managerial potential of latter grows. The budgets of local state organs of self-management during the first stage, and the use of such budgets, will, until the formation of self-management by the first stage, and the use of such budgets, remain within the competence of organs of self-management of the second stage. Changes in the sizes and boundaries of administrative units will be made at the initiative of the corresponding local soviet and confirmed by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

19. THE REPUBLIC GOVERNMENT

19.1 The Council of Ministers (government) of the Estonian SSR will consist of the chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers and his deputies and ministers. The numerical makeup of the government of the Estonian SSR will be determined by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

19.2 The Council of Ministers (government) of the Estonian SSR will be the highest organ of state management in the Estonian SSR and will be subordinate to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

19.3 The government of the Estonian SSR will have the right to resolve all matters of state management falling within its competence in accordance with the Constitution of the Estonian SSR.

19.4 The government of the Estonian SSR will develop cooperation with the USSR Council of Ministers and the councils of ministers of the all-union republics.

In order to insure that permanent links are maintained between the government of the Estonian SSR and the USSR Council of Ministers, and also with the councils of ministers of the all-union republics, representations of the Estonian SSR may operate in Moscow, in the capitals of the all-union republics and in foreign countries.

19.5 The central organs of state management in the Estonian SSR will be the Estonian SSR ministries. Ministries of the Estonian SSR will be led by ministers. During the course of the transition to cost accounting the present state committees will be reorganized either as ministries or as state services, or will be merged or eliminated. During the transition stage the number of ministries and departments will be reduced.

Enterprises and organizations will not be directly subordinate to the ministries of the Estonian SSR and the ministries will not engage in operational management of economic organizations.

Ministries will implement government policy on the basis of the laws of the Estonian SSR, and also other decisions of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, decrees and instructions of the Estonian SSR government, and enactments promulgated within the limits of their competence, and will monitor compliance.

Agricultural

Ligachev Visits Moscow Agricultural Academy 16 Jun

Speaks on Congress, Agrarian Policy

LD1606204589 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1907 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jun (TASS)—Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR people's deputy, today met scientists, teachers, and students of the Moscow "Timiryazev" agricultural academy. He shared his impressions on the work of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

"The country has not for a long time now seen such an intensive sociopolitical life as in the present year. The congress reflected the processes occurring in society," Yegor Ligachev said. "It was held in a democratic and open atmosphere. The congress confirmed that we have no other choice other than the course toward restructuring. The Soviet people are following the party."

He also noted that "certain deputies, when their proposals did not get through, tried to accuse the majority of dictatorship and to present this as the intrigues of the apparatus. There were attacks on the Communist Party; voices could be heard suggesting the elimination of its leading role, and at times they advocated political pluralism. It did not end without pointed expressions and labels."

"As a whole, it seems to me, the deputies displayed firmness and political maturity and adopted the right decisions." He explained the exacerbation of contradictions in society and the annoyance of people with the

serious shortcomings and mistakes in the work of party and state bodies at the center and in the provinces, in particular with the firmness of bureaucratism and abuse manifested in the tackling of issues connected with everyday living conditions.

Talking about agrarian policy, Yegor Ligachev noted that at present it is of an integrated nature and embraces a broad range relating to the production and processing of agricultural produce, financial autonomy relations, management and planning, pricing, scientific and technical progress, the social development of the village, and the cadres policy.

Answering a question on whether it is possible to feed the country with the help of small farm holdings, having transferred the land of collective and state farms to them, the CPSU Central Committee secretary replied "Certain comrades are trying to resolve the matter of the choice of forms of ownership for the peasant without consulting him about it. But the peasant, meanwhile, is in favor of collective farming." In those regions of the country where there are the conditions, the traditions, and the desire of the people for this, we should without a doubt embark on creating peasant holdings.

"Collective and state farms already possess a sufficiently powerful production base. It would be necessary to set up peasant farms virtually from scratch. Where would we get such resources? It is quite obvious that the disbanding of collective and state farms would become an irreparable mistake for our country."

Yegor Ligachev called the imports of grain "a forced but necessary measure." "We can only get away from this by drastically increasing our yields and reducing our losses. According to the estimates of experts, we lose 20 million tonnes in the harvesting of grain crops alone."

Answering a question about his attitude to the accusations made against him, he said that "he feels confident." "In a statement to the Central Committee I evaluated the accusations as political provocation and a malicious lie. I have no doubt that this was done for the purposes of political career making. You need have no doubt, I have enough self-control and steadfastness," Yegor Ligachev stated. "I have been hardened by 1937 and 1949, when our family was subjected to unfounded repressions, when we lost relatives. Of course this leaves scars, but nonetheless it gives one strength politically."

In conclusion Yegor Ligachev noted that "under the guise of democracy and glasnost extremist, anti-socialist, and nationalist elements have become active. They voice slogans against the party, the socialist structure, the Soviet Army, and law enforcement bodies. And their actions in the final analysis are directed against restructuring and the socialist renewal of society."

Leasing Arrangements Discussed

LD1606211189 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 16 Jun 89

[From the "Vremya" newcast]

[Text] [Announcer] Comrade Ligachev has been meeting the professorial and lecturing staff at the Timiryazev All-Union Agricultural Academy.

[Begin recording] [Ye. Sinitsyn] Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev came here to find out how the academy is restructuring its training of cadres after the March plenum of the party Central Committee. Nowadays we need experts with a new way of thinking who are capable of working in the conditions of leasing, financial autonomy, and the cooperative movement: people who are enterprising and devoid of the habits of command and administration.

[Ligachev] Surely you are no longer intimidated by our leasing relationships? Leasing relationships do not destroy large farms. No, indeed!

[Sinitsyn] The new times insistently demand fresh approaches, and for the party's agrarian policy, this is the prime and most important thing.

[Ligachev] At the plenum we reached a clear accord that the right to choose the forms of ownership and the type of economic activity is to remain with the peasant. We are to base our work on that well known directive of the March Central Committee Plenum. Which one? Complete variety and complete equality of all forms of ownership—of socialist ownership. In society now, and to a considerable extent this was seen at the congress of People's Deputies, there is quite a detailed, I might even say animated, exchange of opinions on the forms of ownership and the forms of economic activity in the countryside.

And so, what is it I want to say? We are leaving the right to the peasant—to the producer, so to speak—to choose the forms of ownership. But the economists should also help the peasant in the broad sense of the word to choose these forms of ownership. For in certain circumstances it is very advantageous to continue to develop and run collective and state farms. Moreover, as you will realize, the collective and state farms cannot remain as they are. They are also undergoing change. You can correct me since you are theoreticians, but I believe I would not be mistaken in saying that only of late, following lengthy appeals and all sorts of writings and theses, has the process of rapprochement of ownership actually started here—the interweaving and interaction of state, cooperative, and private... [Ligachev interrupted by indistinct comment] Well, those are the practicalities, so to speak. And so, I should like to see the economists helping to corroborate when collective and state farms decide how they will change, whether to set up cooperatives of leaseholders, cooperative farmers, or what have you, or whether to set up peasant farms and develop family based farms. Or any of the many other forms: agrofirms, agrocombines, etc. I can tell you, quite

without exaggeration, that we have many working in the dark: They desperately need science. They are crying out for economic corroboration. But, unfortunately, it is the done thing for us to have little in the way of options, of alternative solutions. We select one and not infrequently we forget the famous maxim: Look before you leap and forget the consequences of the decisions we make.

[Sinitsyn] The solutions are there, and the people hope for positive results. [end recording] [video shows Ligachev addressing specialists]

PRAVDA Reports Ligachev Remarks

PM1806183589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Jun 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "A Boost for the Forces of Society's Renewal"]

[Text] Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR people's deputy, met with scientists, teaching staff, and students at the Moscow K.A. Timiryazev Agricultural Academy.

He shared with them his impressions from proceedings of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. During a tour of the faculties, departments, and an experimental station, questions pertaining to the practical participation of this educational establishment in the implementation of the party's current agrarian policy and of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum were discussed.

Ye.K. Ligachev addressed the academy's collective. He said that not for a long time has the country's sociopolitical life been as intensive as it has this year. CPSU Central Committee plenums, elections of USSR people's deputies, and the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies have been held.

The Central Committee plenums discussed questions pertaining to the practical activities of the party and its Central Committee in the socialist renewal of society and the problems of the current agrarian policy. Questions connected with the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies were discussed.

At the Congress of People's Deputies the country's supreme organs of state power were formed, elections and appointments to top state posts were carried out, and the main trends of domestic and foreign policy in the coming period were outlined. And that is probably what is most essential.

As is known, the congress took place in a turbulent and active atmosphere, just like the turbulent and active atmosphere in which the country is currently living. That is to say, the congress reflected the processes which are taking place in society. Speakers leveled criticism at the country's leadership and ministries and departments. The critical remarks addressed the pace and depth of the

economic transformations, the solution of social problems, interethnic relations, and unity between words and deeds. In short, the deputies conveyed the whole spectrum of the mood of the people.

The congress, which discussed M.S. Gorbachev's and N.I. Ryzhkov's reports, took place in a democratic and open atmosphere. Listening to the speeches you could not but feel pleased at how many interesting people have become involved in the life of the state. The congress confirmed that there is no alternative to the course toward restructuring in our country and that the Soviet people are behind the party.

However, it did not pass without flaws. Certain deputies whose proposals did not get adopted tried to accuse the majority of dictatorship, they tried to represent this as machinations on the part of the apparatus. The upshot was: Everything that suited them was democratic, everything that proved unacceptable to the congress was described as antidemocratic, as diktat. There were attacks on the Communist Party, there were calls demanding the liquidation of its leading role, some people advocated political pluralism. It did not pass either without pointed remarks and attempts to pin labels on people.

On the whole, it seemed to me, deputies displayed firmness and political maturity and adopted correct decisions.

The exacerbation of contradictions within society and people's irritation are sometimes also caused by the serious shortcomings and mistakes in the work of party and state organs in the center and at local level, the tenacity of the bureaucracy, and abuses, especially in tackling questions connected with day-to-day living conditions.

It is unquestionable that restructuring will result in a better material and spiritual life for our people. However, it must be borne in mind that at a time of revolutionary upheavals such as the restructuring process, before things get better, before there is an upsurge, there is a buildup of difficulties and the situation in society becomes more complex. Such are the dialectics of development.

We are talking about a vast country, about a renewal of all spheres of society, about placing society on a new footing, and—what is more—doing this without stopping, as we go along. It is obvious that all this will take years. Meanwhile some people believe that results in the economic and social sphere should arrive quickly, within a short space of time. Even now proposals have been submitted to resolve acute tasks within a year. But that is unrealistic, simply not serious; after all, we have burned our fingers more than once as a result of this kind of self-deception.

It is true that there are social problems whose solution brooks no delay. The Congress of USSR People's Deputies deemed it necessary, for instance, to increase pensions. This was a sensible decision. However, speaking in

general terms, there is, quite objectively, another aspect to this question: Any increase in incomes must be accompanied by an increase in the production of goods and services. Otherwise the surplus of money will grow, while real incomes remain unchanged.

The consumer market can be saturated with goods and services only by means of increasing their production on the basis of the comprehensive development of economic accountability relations and scientific and technical progress. The most powerful lever of the transformation of the economy is scientific and technical progress. In our country little has been done to bring it into play. I see a way out here in developing scientific and technical and science-and-production associations, systems, and complexes and in improving and fully activating the economic mechanism of coupling science and production.

In politics, in order not to make mistakes, it is necessary to adhere to continuity and to firmly steer the course of renewal and restructuring of society. Whole generations of Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party have accumulated experience in building a new life. Everything that is positive in this experience must be taken into account and made to work. Without taking account of, and critically interpreting, our own experience and the experience of the socialist countries it is impossible to move forward, to achieve progress. This is what both the past and the present have taught us.

The Congress of USSR People's Deputies, Ye.K. Ligachev stressed, has set the task of normalizing the situation in the domestic market, strengthening money circulation, and providing goods and services for the population's incomes. A substantial part of the speech was devoted to questions of the current agrarian policy, the implementation of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum, and the need to improve food supplies to the population.

At the present stage the agrarian policy is a complex one. It spans a wide range of agricultural produce production and processing, economic accountability relations, management and planning, price formation, scientific and technical progress, the social development of the countryside, and cadre policy. One of its characteristic features is the effort to change production relations in the countryside on a purely voluntary basis. The peasants themselves must decide what they want.

While consistently attending to long-term tasks it is very important to step up attention to current issues and focus especially on the solution of those questions on which the improvement of food supplies right now, within the current year, depends. I have in mind the assimilation of new forms of management in the countryside (intrafarm accounting and leasing) and also the development of peasant farms, farms run by industrial enterprises, and production-sharing between cities and the countryside on a mutually advantageous economic basis.

The fastest way to food sufficiency is avoiding losses of agricultural products this year during harvesting, storage, and processing. This is where the country annually sustains a heavy loss. In this context I would like to note that the large-scale program for the creation of an agricultural produce storage base and a modern food industry which is currently being implemented is inspiring great confidence. As is known, collectives of the country's defense complex have been involved in the implementation of this program.

Following Ye.K. Ligachev's address, many questions—to which he provided answers—were put to him in the course of lively discussions in the departments and laboratories.

Question: What can you, as chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Commission for Questions of Agrarian Policy, say about the speeches of certain deputies at the congress and also statements in the mass media claiming that it is possible to feed the country with the help of small farming units which have had collective farm [kolkhoz] and state farm [sovkhoz] land transferred to them?

[Ligachev] Answer: I know that certain comrades are advocating small farming units and claiming that they are the only way to ensure food supplies. It is true that experience to this effect exists. But there is also another practice. Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and Hungary supply the population of their countries with food produced exclusively on state and cooperative farms. This is also backed up by the experience of highly effective work on many Soviet kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

It is known that the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum proclaimed the diversity and equality of various forms of socialist ownership and management in the countryside. Some comrades are trying to solve the question of the choice of the form of ownership for the peasant without asking his opinion. Meanwhile the peasants favor collective farming. In those parts of the country where conditions, traditions, and people favor the creation of peasant farms, this must unquestionably be done.

I would like to note that the kolkhozes and sovkhozes must not stand still either. Strictly speaking, they do not. The process of the rapprochement of and close collaboration between national, cooperative, and individual forms of ownership and fuller utilization of the potential of production-sharing has intensified. Quite a few sovkhozes are already transforming themselves into state-cum-leasing-cum-cooperative associations.

Furthermore, production-sharing between major industrial enterprises and kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and agro-associations is becoming more and more widespread. Urban state enterprises are entering into long-term economic relations with major agricultural enterprises on a contract basis. They contribute material, technical, financial, and labor resources and in return receive for their collectives agricultural produce that has been additionally produced

on this basis. In short, a process of close interaction and combination of the various forms of ownership is under way, and more actively than ever before.

Kolkhozes and sovkhozes already have a relatively powerful production base. Peasant farms have to be created virtually from scratch. Where are the resources for this to come from? It is perfectly obvious that the dissolution of kolkhozes and sovkhozes would be an unrectifiable mistake for our country.

Question: Is it not possible for our country to manage without grain imports?

[Ligachev] Answer: Grain imports are an enforced but necessary measure. It could be avoided only by means of increasing yields and sharply reducing losses. According to specialist estimates, we lose 20 million tonnes during the grain harvest alone. Mainly by overextending the harvesting time because we still do not have enough high-performance, reliable harvesting machinery. However, grain losses are not confined to this. As a result of shortages of protein feed kolkhozes and sovkhozes use excessive quantities of grain for feeding livestock.

"Common Market" countries produce more meat and milk than the USSR, yet they use 42 million tonnes of grain less to feed livestock and poultry (this is roughly what the Soviet Union buys abroad), because they use three times as much protein feed. It is possible to state categorically here and now that unless we eliminate the protein shortages we will not be able to swiftly resolve the grain problem or achieve intensive development of livestock breeding.

Question: What is your view of the accusations that have been leveled against you? How do you feel?

[Ligachev] Answer: I feel confident. In my statement to the Central Committee (which was published in the press) I assessed the accusations as a political provocation and a malicious lie. I have no doubt that they were made in furtherance of a political career.

I would like to note that the firm opinion has taken shape in the Central Committee Politburo that restructuring is impossible without the moral regeneration of society. The present lineup of the Politburo, which was formed in the main in 1985 at the Central Committee Committee April Plenum, is strictly following this line in all its activities. I have been entrusted with quite a lot of work in the eradication of abuses, bribery, and corruption. You may rest assured that I have enough stamina and determination.

But I also know that just as it is impossible to stand on one leg for long, lies and lawlessness cannot prevail for long. And since we are having a frank conversation, I will add that I was tempered in 1937 and 1949 when our family was subjected to unfounded repressions and lost some of its members. Naturally, all this leaves its mark, but politically it nonetheless strengthens you.

I am inspired by V.I. Lenin's example. He said once: "This is my destiny. One field campaign after another—against political stupidity, banalities, opportunism, and so forth... And as a result, the hatred of mediocre people." "But despite it all," Vladimir Ilich stressed, "I would not change this destiny for 'peace' with mediocre people."

I favor the consolidation of forces in society on a principled basis. I will never make peace with political adventurers.

In conclusion Ye.K. Ligachev said:

"The high political activeness of the people is a gigantic boost for the forces of the policy of renewal. This is our great achievement. However, we must also bear in mind the following. Under the mantle of democracy and glasnost extremist, antisocialist, and nationalist elements have become active. They are putting up slogans against the party, the socialist system, the Soviet Army, and the law-enforcement organs. Their actions are ultimately directed against restructuring and the socialist renewal of society.

"They bring grief and deprivation to our people. These forces bear the responsibility for the exacerbation of interethnic relations and the ruined lives of the people who were killed or injured, or lost their homes and native places.

"Our task lies in consistently developing democracy. For this it is necessary to defend the party, which is the guarantor and organizer of restructuring, against aggressive attacks. The party needs criticism, but not slander.

"Restructuring of the party, the improvement of its internal life, the development of party democracy, and the closest links between Communists and the people are of the utmost importance. The time has come to stop conducting work with the masses from our offices. It is necessary to go out into the labor collectives, enterprises, neighborhoods, families, and hostels—in short, to go where people work and live and conduct policy there, work with people, and gain their trust."

Scientific

'Cosmos-2028' Satellite Launched 16 Jun

LD1606142989 Moscow TASS in English 1424 GMT
16 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—The Soviet Union today launched an earth satellite of the Cosmos series, Cosmos-2028, using a Soyuz booster rocket.

The satellite is carrying research equipment intended for the study of outer space, a radio system for the precise measurement of orbit elements and a radio telemetry system for the transmission of data on the operation of instruments and research equipment to ground control.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

'Russian People's Academy' Established

LD1706201389 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1515 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jun (TASS)—A group of Soviet scientists, dissatisfied with the activity of the USSR Academy of Sciences, has taken the initiative in setting up a new public scientific organization—the "Russian People's Academy of Sciences" [Rossiyskaya Narodnaya Akademiya Nauk]. These scientists, who gathered in one of the halls of the Exhibition of the Achievements of the National Economy of the USSR today for the constituent conference of the new academy, believe that bureaucratic principles, which hamper the free development of scientific thought to a considerable degree, predominate in the official academy. Those taking part in the constituent conference stated their desire to reveal more fully the scientific potential of Russia in the interests of developing all of Soviet society and using scientific achievements more effectively in the interests of increasing the well-being of the people.

Petr Ivankov, candidate of sciences and chairman of the organizing committee, made an announcement on the main principles governing the activity of the new public organization. "The academy, he said, is conceived as a public organization, of the people, and operating on the principles of self-recoupment and financial autonomy." Eminent scientists—Doctors of Sciences Vasilii Orlov, Vladimir Bolgov, Nikolay Prigoda, Boris Groshaven, and others spoke during the debate.

At the conference the statute was confirmed and the organizational committee, which has been instructed to form the structure and the governing bodies of the "Russian People's Academy," was elected.

Military

TASS Interviews Defense Minister Yazov

LD1906092689 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0707 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jun (TASS)—Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, has given an interview to a TASS correspondent. The full text of it is given below:

[Correspondent] Comrade minister, the results of the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies are at the center of attention of Soviet people and the broad international public. What, in your opinion, has brought this about?

[Yazov] First and foremost, the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies was an event of landmark significance in the history of the revolutionary restructuring and all-round renewal of Soviet society. It also was an event that demonstrated clearly to the whole world the scale and depth of the

reforms in our country and revealed the importance of restructuring as a part of a dynamically developing process of democratization of world significance.

The fundamentals and principles of the Soviet state's foreign policy, consolidated in legislative terms by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, aroused an enormous international response. They are imbued by the ideas of the new political thinking. Basing itself upon these fundamentals and principles the foreign policy course will be, as M.S. Gorbachev stressed during his visit to the FRG, predictable, clear, and aimed toward peace and cooperation. This is our strategic line. It not only expresses the fundamental interests of the Soviet people, but it also corresponds objectively to the vital interests of all mankind.

[Correspondent] Clearly the new approaches to Soviet defense construction also fit into this strategic line?

[Yazov] Yes, of course. After all, these approaches in effect embody the major aspects of the new political thinking. By putting this into effect in Soviet defense construction we are able to cut military expenditure on the basis of giving a new quality to the USSR Armed Forces with no loss to the country's defense capacity.

[Correspondent] Judging by press reports, alongside a sincere and well-meaning interest, there is, in the West today, a fair amount of gossip going around that distorts the substance, nature and aims of the restructuring [words indistinct] (?would like you) to clear up this issue, Dmitry Timoreyevich?

[Yazov] This gossip, as you put it, is of a dual nature. Some of it is due to ignorance or insufficient understanding of the restructuring processes. The rest is the result of deliberate speculation geared toward undermining trust in the Soviet Union's policy in the area of defense and security.

I would like to emphasize that this policy is by no means a tactical move or a temporary zig-zag. It is fundamental. In the course of its implementation a radical review is being made of our attitudes toward ensuring national and universal security. We are moving away from "mirror" responses to the development and upgrading of the other side's weapons toward an asymmetric but commensurate countering of threat, from quantitative approaches in defense construction toward primarily qualitative ones.

The personnel, technical equipment, and combat potential of the Army and Navy are being brought to the limits of reasonable and reliable sufficiency for defense. The services of the Armed Forces, the arms of service, the groupings, and formations are being (?reconstructed). Operational and combat training of the personnel is being organized in strict accordance with the directives of our defensive military doctrine....

[Correspondent] You mentioned the Soviet military doctrine. Could you perhaps give a brief outline of it in the context of our discussion?

[Yazov] The idea of the policy of restructuring in defense organization is expressed in concentrated form in the Soviet military doctrine. It is subordinate to the task of preventing war and stems from the need for a radical reduction in the level of military confrontation, for a halt to the arms race, and for consistent and genuine disarmament. The purely defensive nature of our doctrine is to be seen particularly in the fact that among its cornerstone precepts is the USSR's undertaking never, under any circumstances to be the first to start military action, and never to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Furthermore, it is enshrined in our doctrine that the Soviet Union has no territorial claims on anyone, and does not regard any state as its enemy.

[Correspondent] Are there any such undertakings, positions, or precepts in the doctrines of, let us say, the states of the North Atlantic alliance?

[Yazov] Unfortunately not. If there were, that would undoubtedly prove effective in working toward an improvement in the situation in Europe and throughout the world. The doctrines of the United States and NATO still maintain their adherence to power-politics. And incidentally, in recent times this has been emphasized on a number of occasions by several Western leaders in their speeches.

[Correspondent] The Warsaw Pact states advocate establishing a political dialogue with NATO. This, presumably, is what dictates the appeal they have adopted to the member states of the North Atlantic alliance?

[Yazov] Yes, this appeal contains a call to evaluate the new realities of the modern world and to make use of the opportunity now opening up to fully overcome the consequences of the "Cold War" and to create a Europe of peace and cooperation, together with full respect for the territorial and political realities existing here. The Soviet-U.S. agreement on preventing dangerous military activity, which was signed the other day, is in the same direction. We proceed from the fact that the Warsaw Pact and NATO states could direct joint efforts toward the search for ways to repudiate military confrontation and toward development of interaction in guaranteeing universal security and peace.

[Correspondent] One of the main ways to do this is evidently disarmament?

[Yazov] Without doubt. What is more it is of fundamental importance that disarmament should constitute a process which is reciprocal, mutual, consistent, and uninterrupted. If one were to talk about the Warsaw Pact and NATO, then this process should obviously cover the whole complex of the armed forces that relate to Europe, ground, air and naval forces, and all armaments, conventional, nuclear, and chemical. It seems to me that such an

approach is capable of ensuring in the final analysis genuine military and political stability on the European continent as well as throughout the world.

[Correspondent] Could you say a few words in connection with this about the situation at the Vienna talks?

[Yazov] The situation can be assessed as favorable for success at the talks. They were given a new powerful impetus, as is known, by the latest major initiative from the Soviet Union and our Warsaw Pact allies, which proposed a specific program with precise chronological and numerical reference points for the radical reduction of arms and armed forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in Europe. I will remind you that it envisages a reduction by 1996-97 of the strength of personnel in each military alliance to 1.35 million men, of strike tactical aircraft to 1,500, of combat helicopters to 1,700, of tanks to 20,000, of artillery, mortars, and multiple launch rocket systems to 24,000, and of infantry combat vehicles and armored personnel carriers to 28,000 units.

Soon after the proposal had been put forward by the Warsaw Pact countries, the NATO Council at its 40th anniversary session in Brussels adopted a declaration containing an exposition of the policy of the North Atlantic alliance, of which President G. Bush's proposals for reducing (armaments) and armed forces in Europe become an integral part. In these proposals we see for the first time not suspicion and criticism of our initiatives, but a serious and specific response containing certain constructive elements.

[Correspondent] How is this expressed?

[Yazov] First of all, the United States and the other NATO countries accepted the levels for tanks, artillery, and battlefield armored vehicles proposed by the Warsaw Pact. They also expressed willingness to discuss at the talks military aircraft (planes and helicopters) and numbers of troops. We regard all this as steps toward meeting the Warsaw Pact position halfway.

However, the proposals of G. Bush do not remove the substantial differences in the position of the sides. As yet, we still have different approaches to the reduction of air forces. We advocate, as envisaged by the mandate of the talks, reduction of the most destabilizing weapons—tactical strike combat aircraft. The United States, on the other hand, is seeking to subject to reduction all land-based aircraft, including even such purely defensive air weapons as anti-aircraft defense fighters, in order to face us with the necessity of reducing a great number of aircraft also.

As for the numbers of personnel, unlike the Warsaw Pact, the Americans are not looking to setting equal total levels of both military-political alliances that would include levels of troops stationed beyond their national territory. The parity proposed by the United States is only between the Armed Forces of the USSR and the United States beyond their natural territory borders, and

excludes a large group of armed forces of other NATO countries (roughly 100,000 men) that also have troops beyond their national territories. Clearly this places the alliances on a unequal footing.

But, by and large, the United States' proposals reveal opportunities for meaningful work and allow one to expect rapid progress on the negotiations. We are studying them closely, and a response to them will be forthcoming after we have had discussions with our allies at a session of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee.

[Correspondent] But doesn't the Brussels declaration leave a number of questions open?

[Yazov] Yes, even though this document is less dogmatic than in the past and less saturated with the confrontational stereotypes of the past, we cannot fail to be concerned by, for example, the desire present in it to perpetuate nuclear weapons. The strategy of deterrence remains as before the cornerstone of the "global concept in the field of disarmament and arms control," which was approved at the session of the NATO Council. And, as you will know, the main component of this strategy is the U.S. nuclear weapons deployed in Western Europe and off its shores.

[Correspondent] In Brussels the proposal by the USSR and the Warsaw Pact for parallel talks on tactical nuclear weapons and conventional weapons was not adopted. What is this stand based on?

[Yazov] In our opinion, there is no reason to postpone the talks on tactical nuclear weapons. And the arguments adduced by NATO for rejecting our proposal do not seem convincing to us. The thesis about the need to wait until the agreement on reduction of conventional arms forces has been concluded and its implementation begun is simply a pretext. In our view, there is a different reason. The leaders of certain NATO states fear that the talks on tactical nuclear weapons could be an obstacle to carrying out the program to modernize the U.S. Lance missiles deployed in the FRG. Thus, the interests of certain circles associated with the implementation of that program are being set against the interests of developing the disarmament process, and ultimately also to the interests of European and world security.

[Correspondent] As regards the military programs, the facts show that in the United States and NATO not one of them has been cancelled or cut. All the previously adopted programs are going ahead at the present time. Yet the Soviet Union is making substantial cuts to its military expenditure and discontinuing a number of military programs. Where is the logic in this?

[Yazov] There is logic here. This logic derives from the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense, which fully accords with our initiative steps in the sphere of reduction of armed forces and armaments and cutting

the military budget. These steps do not mean a weakening of our defense. It was stated at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in this respect that reliable defense remains an issue of vital significance for us. The Soviet Armed Forces are being guaranteed everything necessary, while at the same time the principle of reasonable sufficiency is being implemented. We are, quite naturally, making a realistic analysis and assessment of the situation; we follow attentively the West's military preparations and take account of them in our practical activity. We also take account of the fact that in the modern world, as was pointed out at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, there are increasing opportunities for ensuring security by political and diplomatic means. Effective use of these opportunities makes it possible to move consistently toward defense sufficiency while maintaining the necessary level of security.

[Correspondent] How is such progress finding concrete expression in our defense construction today?

[Yazov] First and foremost in the organization of the composition and structure of our Armed Forces is a defensive spirit. Cuts are being made in their strength, arms, and military hardware. According to plan and in an atmosphere of broad glasnost military units are being withdrawn from the territory of our allies. Before the end of this year 500 warheads of tactical nuclear systems will be withdrawn from there, also on a unilateral basis. Strike systems are being limited in the overall composition of the troops. Assault-attack and assault-river [desantno-sturmovoy i desantno-perepravochnyy] crossing formations and units are in fact being removed from the grouping, along with other offensive elements, including operational mobile groups which have been portrayed for many years in the West as "tank penetration forces" allegedly designed for "splitting" Europe, and which have been used by reactionary propaganda to create a kind of "tank syndrome" and to whip up fear of an imaginary "Soviet military threat."

[Correspondent] As we know, war is waged not only by tanks, and nowadays offensive might is most likely not associated with them alone?

[Yazov] You are right. If one is adopting positions of realism and objectivity then, for example, the offensive capabilities of strike aircraft in modern conditions make them a far more destabilizing factor than tanks. (?Navies armed with) the most modern warships, combat aircraft and helicopters as well as cruise missiles have considerable offensive might. [words indistinct] but the whole point is that until recently NATO saw tanks exclusively as the main indication of any offensive. Attention here was focused on the almost 2-fold advantage of the Warsaw Pact over NATO in tanks, and everything was done to ensure that NATO's superiority over the Warsaw Pact in tactical strike aircraft and combat helicopters—by a factor of 1.5 and 1.9 respectively—its 2-fold superiority in numbers of personnel in naval forces in

seas and oceans adjacent to Europe, its 5-fold superiority in large surface vessels, and its 12-fold superiority in ships carrying cruise missiles should remain out of the field of vision.

[Correspondent] The data you have cited indicate that there are rather considerable imbalances and asymmetries in the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Can these be eliminated, and is this a realistic target?

[Yazov] A realistic one, without doubt. But at the same time one must bear in mind the fact that the sole acceptable and just approach to resolving this should be based upon reciprocity and guaranteeing equality and identical security of the sides within the limits of the existing approximate parity. In order to eliminate the imbalances on such a basis, the Warsaw Pact and NATO must embark upon major asymmetrical cuts. The result of these would be to emerge on to an incomparably lower level of military confrontation. This would be a major step toward nonoffensive defense, and toward reasonable sufficiency, which would in its turn serve to create a new model of security.

[Correspondent] You said "a new model of security." As we know, this concept was introduced into the political lexicon by M.S. Gorbachev, when he spoke in the United Nations at the end of last year. Could you, Dmitriy Timofeyevich, briefly talk about the military aspects of this model?

[Yazov] Everything that helps in the shift from an over-accumulation of weapons to reasonable adequacy for defense may be treated as such an aspect, to the extent of the complete removal of the threat of war breaking out by eliminating the means themselves and the potential for waging it. Above all, this means nuclear disarmament, a start to which was made by the treaty on medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, and likewise the scrapping of the other types of weapons of mass destruction. It means a consistent and reciprocal cut and a reduction by the sides in the numbers of their conventional troops and armaments. It means qualitative changes in the armed forces that would give substance to the defensive thrust of the military doctrines. And finally, it means a wide-ranging policy of trust in all spheres of military activity without exception.

[Correspondent] One of the new and graphic manifestations of this policy was the publication at the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies of the actual figure for our military spending—R77.3 billion. Could you perhaps comment briefly on this figure?

[Yazov] The total amount of our military spending comes to around 15.6 percent of the USSR's state budget. Approximate military-strategic parity is maintained by spending this money on defense organization, the development and further improvement of the Armed Forces.

As for the structure of our military spending, it includes five basic headings:

1. The procurement of arms and military equipment;
2. Scientific-research and experimental design work;
3. Maintenance of the army and the navy;
4. Military organizational development;
5. The payment of pensions to servicemen discharged into the reserve.

The total expenditure on each of these is respectively: 32.6; 15.3; 20.2; 4.6; and 2.3 billion rubles. Some R2.3 billion has been allocated for sundry expenses.

It should be emphasized that implementing the USSR's policy of cutting armed forces and arms, and of reducing military expenditure will enable us to save almost R30 billion on the previously confirmed 5-year plan. And by 1995 the proportion of our national income spent on defense is to be reduced by 1.5-2 times.

[Correspondent] Obviously this reduction is bound up with the development and intensification of the process of real disarmament?

[Yazov] Naturally. We have already mentioned the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces and on measures for reinforcing trust and security in Europe—these could act as a powerful catalyst for this process. It seems urgently essential to include in it all the means of waging war that so far remain outside the ambit of the talks.

The talks between the USSR and the United States on nuclear and space weapons that have resumed in Geneva are of great importance for the disarmament process. The sides at those talks have to begin by overcoming the remaining differences on such fundamental issues as the linkage between the 50 percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons and adherence to the AMB Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972, and the limitation of sea-based and airborne long-range cruise missiles. Mutually-acceptable solutions to the aforementioned problems could be reached on the basis of the accords worked out during the latest Soviet-U.S. summit meetings.

I would like to stress particularly that in order to bring about the success of the disarmament process it is important not to take any steps whatsoever that could complicate the dialogue and give a new impetus to the arms race, including under the pretext of modernizing these arms.

[Correspondent] Probably the disarmament process can only be truly effective and lead to the creation of a new model of security if it has not a regional but an all-embracing nature?

[Yazov] There is simply no alternative. Not a single region can be excluded from the disarmament process. Of course it is impossible to overestimate the importance of Europe in the development and deepening of this process. It has turned out historically that Europe has become a driving generator in its own way for the demilitarization, democratization, and humanization of international relations. And M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the FRG that has just ended has become a new landmark in this direction. The joint statement signed during the visit was the first political document in which two major states belonging to different systems and alliances have made an attempt to interpret the essence of the present crucial moment in world development and outline the (?goals) of their policies. This is a major step forward in asserting the new political thinking and the ideas of mutual respect, equality, unconditional recognition for freedom of choice and the priority nature of values common to all mankind.

The all-European process has undoubtedly received a powerful new impetus. But can we provide stability and security by disarming and by strengthening good-neighborliness only in Europe, without creating a healthier climate, say, in the Asian and Pacific region? Of course not. That process must increasingly develop into a worldwide process; it must embrace all regions and include all peoples and states. That is the guarantee of the materialization of the new model of security. That is why the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations associated with M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the PRC in May this year fits in organically with the positive trends of world development and creates the prerequisites for achieving their irreversibility. Also obvious is the vital need for a just political solution to the problems in the Near East, in Africa, in Central America, and everywhere where the flames of regional conflicts are burning or smoldering.

Genuine and real security is indivisible. It can only be universal and equal for all peoples and states.